CDC


# NATIONAL REVIEW

35 Cents
November 6, 1962

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

## *Election Forecast*

M. STANTON EVANS

## *Why I'm Running Against Nelson Rockefeller*

DAVID H. JAQUITH

## *Drury Does It Again*

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

*Articles and Reviews by* ..... JOHN GREGORY DUNNE
GUY DAVENPORT · FRANK S. MEYER · TIRESIAS

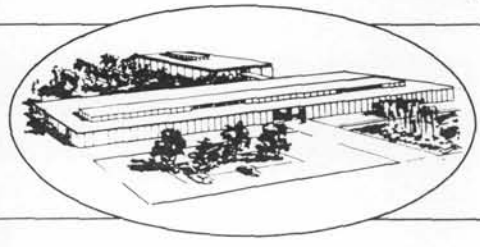
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEXTILE RESEARCH PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN OUR FUTURE ECONOMY

# *mother's little darling!!!*

His KAYNEE shirt is always band box fresh and no work for Mother.
Spin, tumble or drip dry — no ironing ever with shirts of
BELFAST® Self-Ironing Cotton.

®Belfast is the registered trademark of the Deering Milliken Research Corporation for its self-ironing fabrics.



**Deering Milliken Research Corp., Spartanburg, S. C.**

*America's largest, most modern research facilities devoted exclusively to textile research.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
L. Brent Bozell, James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall
Frank S. Meyer, William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION: Martha Butler, Arlene Croce
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

ASSOCIATES
Frank Chodorov, D. G. M. Coxe, Morrie Ryskind
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: Timothy J. Wheeler

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, Colm Brogan, John Chamberlain, John Abbot Clark, Peter Crumpet, A. Derso, Joan Didion, M. Stanton Evans, David Franke, J. D. Futch, Henry Hazlitt, Aloise B. Heath, Will Herberg, Hugh Kenner, James Jackson Kilpatrick, John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn, J. B. Matthews, Jonathan Mitchell, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer, Maureen B. O'Reilly, E. Merrill Root, Kenneth Shorey, Ralph de Toledano, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
*London:* Anthony Lejeune
*Munich:* E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ART DIRECTOR: James W. O'Bryan
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Robert J. White
PROMOTION MANAGER: Patrick J. Gorman
ADVERTISING MANAGER: Michael M. Mooney


***CONTENTS*** NOVEMBER 6, 1962 VOL. XIII, NO. 18


*THE WEEK* ..... 339

*ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS*

From Washington Straight .....*Cato* 347
Emancipation Proclamation .....*James Burnham* 348
Election Forecast .....*M. Stanton Evans* 349
Kennedy, Cuba, and the Voters ....*Frank S. Meyer* 352
Why I'm Running Against Nelson Rockefeller
*David H. Jaquith* 353
To the Editor ..... 363

*BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS*

Modern Morality Play .....*William A. Rusher* 356
Violin, Meerschaum and Bradshaw
*Guy Davenport* 357
Latin America: Fact and Theory .....*Tiresias* 358
Snow Job .....*John Gregory Dunne* 360
Books in Brief ..... 361



NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc. at 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.).


Copyright 1962 in the U.S.A., by National Review, Inc.


All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

**EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES**
**National Review**
**150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.**
**Telephone OREgon 9-7330**

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.


## *In This Issue . . .*

➔ we feature politics:—"the preoccupation," a disdainful Englishman remarked during the Age of Victoria, "of the quarter-educated." But those were days when peaceful people could stand a reasonable chance of yawning right through most of the obsessive political developments of the age, *e.g.*, the rights of the East India Company in China, and the intrigues in the royal households of ambitious European princes. Now the activities of a Cuban megalomaniac, backed by a world power that knows the secrets of Mars, grip the attention of the entire world, including the three-quarters educated brain-trusters of John F. Kennedy, who was persuaded by them eighteen months ago to disdain engagement in the Bay of Pigs. . . . **M. Stanton Evans** gives a run-down of congressional and gubernatorial races throughout the country. Most of the article was written before the President's speech, and therefore cannot adequately measure its likely consequences, which will surely be to reassure voters that Mr. Kennedy is not irrevocably asleep. . . . **David Jaquith**, the standard-bearer for New York's Conservative Party, explains why he is running independently against Governor Rockefeller and what bearing his race has on state politics and, derivatively, on national politics. . . . **James Burnham,** who for months has been analyzing the strategical idocy of the assumption that the arming of Cuba was "defensive" in its nature, goes on to consider the continuing and enveloping problem of the United Nations, and to make a constructive proposal for the United States in facing up to the challenge of how to deal with an international body whose motions are dominated by an agglomeration of primitive and neutralist members. . . . **Cato** clocks in with a background report, from the scene in Washington, on the action of the President, describing some of the techniques used so effectively by the White House in capitalizing on our distress. . . . And **Frank Meyer**, in a column written before the President moved, sums up admirably the meaning of Cuba to the future of United States policy. . . . We were required to suspend **Russell Kirk's** column this week, to make room for coverage of the general international mayhem.

➔ **William A. Rusher** writes about Allen Drury's second important novel, whose *mise en scène* is the United Nations. Mr. Drury not only tells an engrossing tale, but illuminates, as he did in *Advise and Consent,* the human and moral nature of the confrontation between East and West. Thoroughly alerted by now to Mr. Drury's terrifying insight into Liberal politics, the Establishment is not likely, Mr. Rusher predicts, to give Drury another break. But his book, already a best-seller, will contribute to the public enlightenment. . . . Prof. **Guy Davenport** writes a charming piece of moonstruckery about Sherlock Holmes. . . . **Tiresias**, a friend who is Deep inside Government, applauds the creeping sanity of Adolph Berle on Latin American policy. . . . And **John Gregory Dunne**, of *Time,* gives a reason for seeing C. P. Snow's play, *The Affair:* it keeps you from having to read the book ➔




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# It may not be perfect—but it works

Advertising, like the Liberty Bell, may not be perfect, but it works.

It works to keep 67 million Americans on the job and enjoying the highest standard of living the world has ever known.

It works to help build and sell over a million new homes a year, plus all the latest gadgets and appliances that go in them.

It works to put 7 million new cars on the road this year...even paves the way for the thousands and thousands of new roads they'll run on.

It works to ring up more than 36 billion dollars in sales all by itself each year.

Now you probably have a pet peeve or two about advertising. We have a few of our own. But along with other responsible Chicago advertising agencies, we're doing all we can to assure that it's completely honest, more informative, always in good taste.

While advertising may not be perfect, like the Liberty Bell, it works. And it works best, when it rings true.

*Prepared by* **CLINTON E. FRANK, INC.** *and published by the Chicago Tribune in the public interest.*

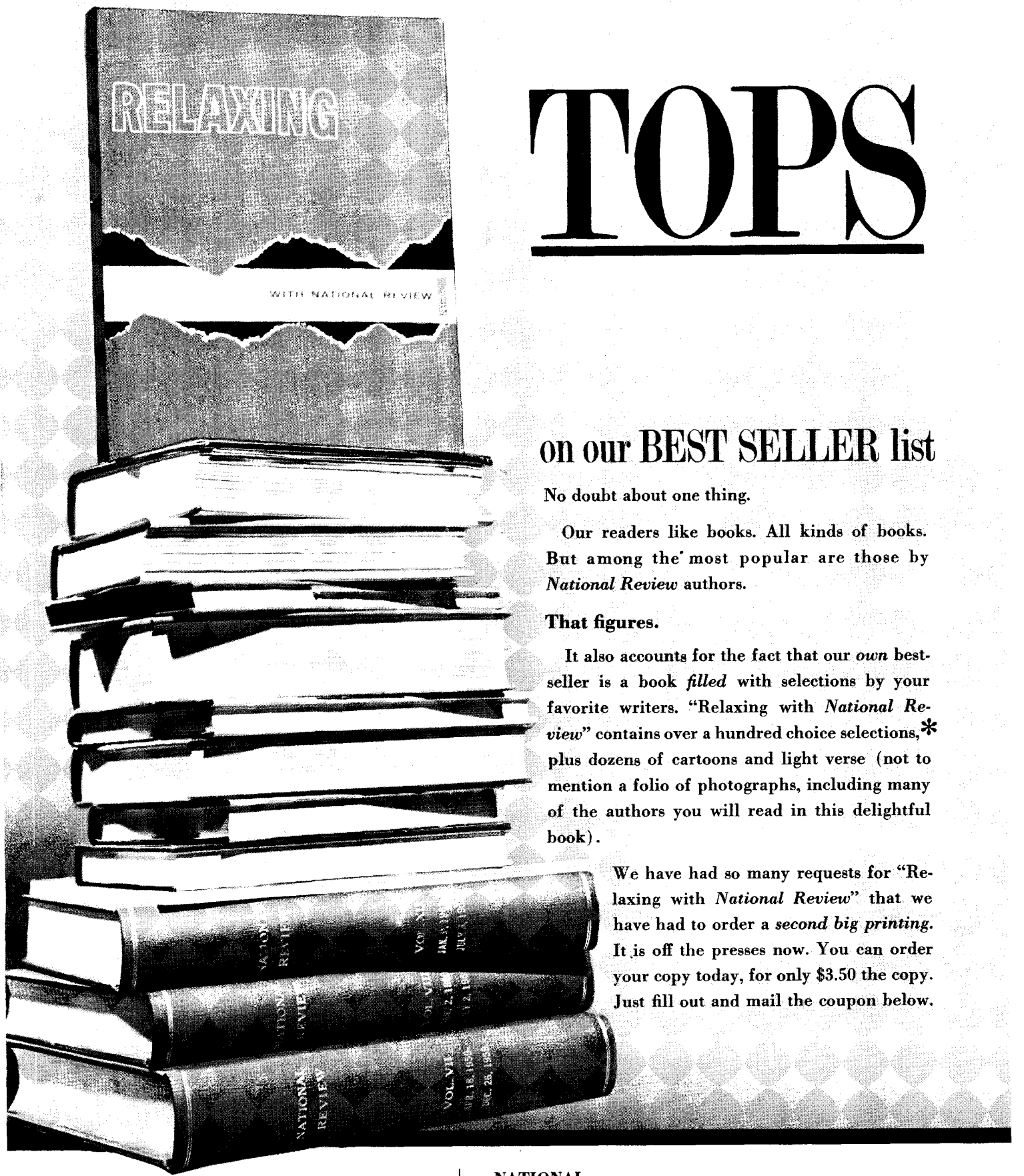
The advertisement reproduced here was prepared by our advertising agency on behalf of the advertising business. We think it tells the story of advertising and something more. It's a pretty good summation of what our free enterprise system accomplishes—and why it must be preserved. We're pleased to have it appear again over our name.

**KOHLER OF KOHLER**

Kohler Co., Established 1873, Kohler, Wisconsin

ENAMELED IRON AND VITREOUS CHINA PLUMBING FIXTURES • ALL-BRASS FITTINGS • ELECTRIC PLANTS • AIR-COOLED ENGINES • PRECISION CONTROLS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# TOPS

## on our BEST SELLER list

No doubt about one thing.

Our readers like books. All kinds of books. But among the most popular are those by *National Review* authors.

**That figures.**

It also accounts for the fact that our *own* best-seller is a book *filled* with selections by your favorite writers. "Relaxing with *National Review*" contains over a hundred choice selections,* plus dozens of cartoons and light verse (not to mention a folio of photographs, including many of the authors you will read in this delightful book).

We have had so many requests for "Relaxing with *National Review*" that we have had to order a *second big printing.* It is off the presses now. You can order your copy today, for only $3.50 the copy. Just fill out and mail the coupon below.

* *Including: Willmoore Kendall on the New York* Times • *Robert Lewis Taylor on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare • Morrie Ryskind on the Rover (read: Kennedy) Boys, and on Wayne Morse • Ralph de Toledano on Beethoven—and Billie Holiday • Sir Arnold Lunn on the Olympics • Joan Didion on marriage counselors • a special section,* Eisenhower Uninhibited • *John Kreuttner on Jack Kennedy • Aloise Heath on movie magazines • Whittaker Chambers on Ayn Rand's* Atlas Shrugged • *John Leonard on Ted Williams • Russell Kirk on UNESCO's plans for our children • William Buckley on the perils of lecturing at Princeton • Admiral Strauss on* National Review *. . . and many more!*

**NATIONAL REVIEW • 150 East 35 Street • New York 16, N. Y.**

Gentlemen:

Please send me_____copies of "Relaxing with *National Review*" at $3.50 per copy, postpaid.

☐ I enclose $_____. ☐ Bill me later.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE ____ STATE _____

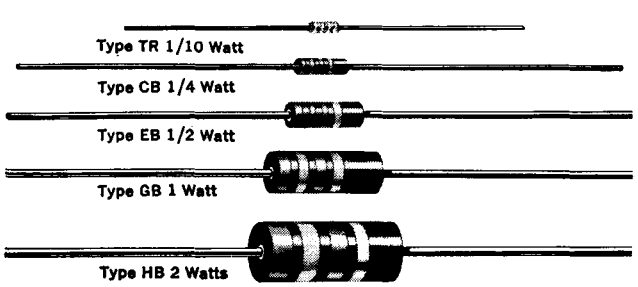
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *Allen-Bradley Hot Molded Resistors prove their* ***complete reliability*** *in the brilliant success of Telstar*

■ In their latest engineering achievement, the Telstar satellite, Bell Telephone Laboratories took a bold new design approach that emphasized the use of high reliability components with virtually total elimination of redundancy. All apparatus packages for Telstar were built "in-house" by Bell Labs, and they were carefully designed and tested for long life. Thus, the use of A-B Type CB (¼ watt) and Type EB (½ watt) hot molded resistors for this important project *clearly* acknowledges their ability to meet the most severe operating conditions.

Allen-Bradley resistors are made by a unique hot molding process—developed and used exclusively by A-B—which assures such uniform and stable characteristics that their performance is accurately predictable in service . . . and they are completely free from catastrophic failures.

You can obtain this same outstanding performance *only* when you insist on A-B fixed resistors. For full details on the complete line of A-B *quality* electronic components, please write for Publication 6024, today.




ALLEN-BRADLEY HOT MOLDED RESISTORS ARE AVAILABLE IN ALL STANDARD EIA RESISTANCE VALUES AND TOLERANCES

**The satellite Telstar was designed and built by American Telephone & Telegraph Co.'s Bell Telephone Laboratories, and AT&T paid for the cost of launching by NASA.**

**ALLEN-BRADLEY** | **Quality Electronic Components**

Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 S. Third St., Milwaukee 4, Wisconsin • In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ontario

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The WEEK

● Reflecting the rapid growth of pacifist tendencies, more than thirty candidates for the Senate and House are running this year on "peace platforms" as against a lone peace pioneer in 1960 (William Hefner, who lost on the Democratic ticket, but is trying again). Six are regular Democratic candidates; one, a Republican. Among the two dozen independents on the ballot, the most publicized is Harvard Professor H. Stuart Hughes; the most unexpected, Harry Purvis, prominent NAM member whose name appears in a Long Island district under the Vote for Peace Party. Besides local groups and scores of many-hued pacifist outfits backing them, two special national organizations are providing funds and technical help: the National Committee of 1,000 to Elect Peace Candidates and the Council for Abolishing War. The Council numbers among its protégés a number of regular party candidates—among them Wayne Morse, Jacob Javits, Robert W. Kastenmeier, William Fitts Ryan, Frank Church, Stanley Tupper—known more for leftward than pacifist leanings. There are no pacifists running for the Supreme Soviet.

● Algerian golden boy Ben Bella got promise of massive aid and a twenty-one gun salute at the White House a few hours before he left for Cuba and another twenty-one gun salute. He awarded the first Algerian Liberation Medal to Castro and lauded the progress of the Castro regime. He called for U.S. abandonment of Guantanamo and, when he got back home, pronounced that "Algeria and Cuba are walking hand in hand down the revolutionary road." We hope our quarantine of Cuba is over before the time comes to impose one on Algeria.

● The French plan for joint policy-making with Germany is moving into military affairs. Exchanges of general staff officers, coordinated military planning and joint arms industries are all involved. The rise of a Paris-Bonn Axis worries the other four present members of the Common Market, and suggests that if the British are admitted, they will have strenuous competition for leadership in the European community. There is even a hint that the axis might block Britain's entry altogether. General de Gaulle's assertive policies continue to disturb those who rely on NATO's military and economic solidarity.

● The United States, through a demagogically self-righteous speech by deputy ambassador Francis Plimpton, called on the UN to condemn South Africa's apartheid policy because it could lead to "bloodshed, war and disaster for all races." Although Mr. Plimpton then deprecated active sanctions against South Africa, so hostile a speech is certain to encourage the Afro-Asians to demand them. Moreover, by asking a UN resolution on apartheid, the U.S. has granted that the internal racial problems of a nation are a proper subject for UN debate and action. Such an interpretation was fortified by the American delegate's reference to efforts being made by his own government to end segregation in his country, and by the fact that two other speakers made direct reference to the Oxford, Mississippi, affair. Does Mr. Plimpton want the next police action in the South to be launched by a UN motion, and under a UN flag?

● YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS DEPT. (1962 version): According to Robert Dunlop, President of Sun Oil, "all of the profits after taxes earned by all corporations in the United States last year—including profits reinvested as well as profits paid out to shareholders—did not equal the fringe benefits paid on behalf of employees."

● Alliance for Progress delegates are meeting in Mexico City this week to discuss the reasons for the plan's failures to date, and to re-chart the future. Insofar as the Alliance requires internal reforms as a condition to aid, the plan is an improvement over the old system of handouts to governments. However, the local reforms that are required are not consistently of the kind that encourage private investment or initiative, which are vastly more important for Latin America's future than handouts. American petulancy over Peru demonstrated that the political strings attaching to the aid are tied to New Frontier emotionalism rather than to any rational appraisal of the local needs of the various Latin American countries.

● The *Toronto Globe and Mail,* authoritative Tory newspaper, has made public a report that Canada has finally made up its mind to accept nuclear weapons. The report indicates that Voodoos will shortly have nuclear rockets, and that Bomarcs will have nuclear warheads. Canadian troops in Germany will have Honest John nuclear rockets. Such a reversal of what seemed to be previous policy has not been made because of domestic political factors, since the government's course will hardly be popular, but could only have come as result of urgent Washington pressure.

● Some months ago the Administration claimed that new seismic techniques for the detection of nuclear testing had been developed so far that even underground shots could be detected. Therefore, it maintained officially that fewer inspection stations were

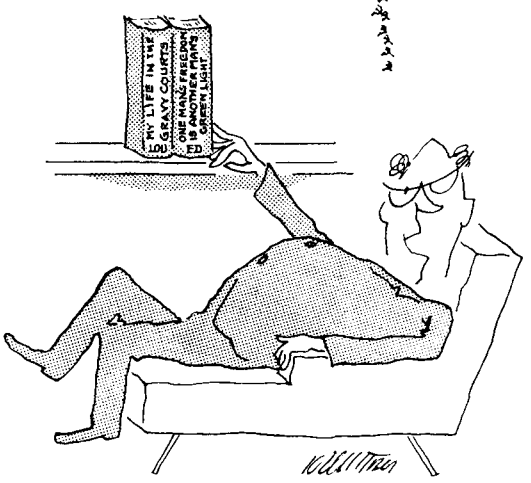


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

needed as provisions of a disarmament treaty with the Soviet Union. However, the head of the U.S. negotiating team for disarmament, Arthur Dean, laid the Administration's claims to rest this week: so far, he said, "there is no way for scientists to tell a conventional quake from an underground nuclear shock, except by on-the-spot inspection." Thus we come quietly to the end of a sorry business, but without an official explanation of how it is in the interests of a peace-loving people to give up their principal deterrent to the violent ambitions of Communism.

● A non-datelined story in a recent issue of a prominent medical journal goes as follows: "The American Tonsorial Society (ATS), composed of 90 per cent of the nation's barbers and beauty salon operators, today voiced its opposition to an Administration bill to provide free haircuts to the aged, popularly known as the Hairy-Carey bill. It would be financed by adding .25 per cent on the Social Security tax for both employer and employee, bringing to 57 per cent of the first $12,500 the total deduction for Social Security expenses. Citing deficiencies in the bill, the ATS warned that it indiscriminately provides funds for only one haircut a month to all over 65, regardless of ability to pay and whether the individual has hair or not. It also makes no distinction between men's and women's haircuts and leaves unprotected fifteen persons not covered under the Social Security Act. The President of the United States, defending his bill against widespread charges that it will lead to socialized barbering, said: 'Somebody has to take care of the appearance of the aged. We have 22 million of them in this country, and they all can vote. When I was elected, I promised the American people a trimming and I'm going to see that they get it.' "

IT'S IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN MIND THAT NOTHING OF ANY CONSEQUENCE HAPPENED IN THIS COUNTRY PRIOR TO 1933, THAT WESTERN CIVILIZATION IS JUST A LOT OF WORDS, THAT NO PRINCIPLE CAN STAND UP AGAINST A SUBSIDY, THAT IT'S BETTER TO BE RED THAN DEAD, AND THAT IF YOU SUGGEST EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY THAT THIS KIND OF TALK REFLECTS ON MY WARREN-COURT-DEFINED LOYALTY, I KNOW A COUPLE OF EMINENT JURY MANIPULATORS WHO WILL BE HAPPY TO BANKRUPT YOU FOR LAW-OF-THE-LAND SLANDER!




● The *S.S. Truman:* Rust in Peace. In an idiosyncrasy of modern warfare, the old ironclad *Truman* met her end, literally, when she was attacked and sunk by herself. For, in her stern attack on Legalized Gambling, she had blasted Nevada as "the only black spot on the United States continent." And, as her end neared, she found herself in Nevada, point blank for her own broadside. Sternly, unbowed, she swung about, every manjack heaving, to attempt launching a National Lottery. But then she caught her own fire, quivered, belched up some oily smoke, and gang aft into the deep.

## *Action Stations?*

It goes without saying that we support every firm and positive action the President has taken, and will take, in the Cuban crisis. Mr. Kennedy was in good form when he spoke to the nation and the world last Monday evening. There was little of the overblown rhetoric that in some of his earlier declarations—on Laos, for example, or the Berlin Wall—substituted for action that never came. This time action on a vast if still unfocussed scale preceded and thus gave weight to the words. His manner was restrained and serious; his explanations were straightforward.

An *act* was what was so long overdue, and the President's initiation of the selective sea-air blockade brought a response that must have surprised Chester Bowles and Adlai Stevenson: this symptom of firmness *in action* at once won enthusiastic support from virtually all Latin America—Yankee-baiting Mexico and Brazil included—support or acceptance from our allies and near-allies, and from nearly every citizen except the pacifists, cranks and collaborators.

We must be united, then, in strength for the action ahead. But it would be no service to the nation if all questions concerning the past and future conduct of our Cuban policy were now to be dissolved in a misty feeling of "national unity."

1) The abruptness of the President's turn is both puzzling and disturbing. A few weeks ago he assured us that Cuba "does not constitute a threat to any other part of this Hemisphere," and less than a fort-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

night before imposing the blockade he bitterly denounced Senator Capehart, who has been demanding action on Cuba, as one of the "self-appointed generals and admirals who want to send someone else's sons to war" (a phrase that Mr. Kennedy must now find bitter on his tongue). What could have changed him so completely so quickly? Is the account he gave, of getting new evidence of "offensive" missiles only a few days before, quite candid and complete? Did Senator Keating, who reported the missiles and launching sites some while ago, have better intelligence sources than the President? NATIONAL REVIEW, lacking all special technical facilities, foresaw the offensive missiles. But the intelligence deficiency is still more basic. Even today the most critical threat of a Communist Cuba is not from any missiles that may be there, but from the political and subversive warfare against which navies alone can do little.

2) Many of those who have been criticizing the President's post-Bay of Pigs lethargy on Cuba view his present steps as "too little"; and this is of course true at this point. But it is obvious that the President cannot stop here even if he would, though we do not know how far ahead he sees the road. The present inadequacy is both military and political. It is hard to grasp just how this selective blockade, or quarantine, limited to "offensive arms," can be carried out even from a narrowly technical standpoint. Searching the holds of a large ship on the high seas for objects that may be broken down and buried deep is a formidable undertaking. But even if the operation can be carried out, it will not solve the problems that the President himself pointed to, much less those he omitted. It will not eliminate the missiles and aircraft or, obviously, the nuclear warheads that are already in Cuba. It will do nothing about Cuba's polwar potential; nothing about the existence of a Moscow-directed Communist state at our doorstep. Oddly enough, the President did not formulate any objectives or specific demands. Suppose—however inconceivable—that Castro saw the game was up and wanted to come to terms. What do we propose that he do? or his successor? What will we regard as a satisfactory or at any rate endurable outcome? Elimination of ground-to-ground missiles and Soviet-bloc personnel from the island? Break with Moscow? A new non-Communist regime? Obviously, the conditions should be made immediately clear.

3) It is even more persuasively argued that the present action is "too late." It is indeed too late to avoid the dangerous action that we now confront. But it is not too late for victory. In the life of nations as of individuals it is never, short of extinction, too late. The more important question, because the answer may determine the future as it has the past, is: *why* so late? What caused this fearful delay that has made the Cuban problem a thousand times harder and more dangerous than it need have been? This is classically the case of the stitch that might in time have saved nine. Part of the reason, certainly, is the monstrous difficulties of the world situation: difficulties so inhumanly great that any criticism of those who are responsible for decisions of state should be uttered humbly. But a not inconsiderable further part of the reason is a whole system of ideas that is false and illusory. These are not ideas merely of events in Cuba, but of what is going on in general in the world; very notably the ideas that evade or distort the nature, aims and methods of the world Communist enterprise. This system of ideas led us to the mistakes about Castro when he was still in the mountains, and about every phase of the Cuban revolution right down to the delivery of the missiles able to reach four-fifths of our cities. But these same ideas are also responsible for our disguised capitulation on Laos, our failure to react to the Berlin Wall, our abandonment of allies in Goa and New Guinea, our failure at Suez, our impotence over Hungary, our illusions about the UN and our obsessive search for an image sweet to the taste of neutralists and primitives. These ideas are set deep in the governing institutions of our nation and in the minds of many of the men with whom John Fitzgerald Kennedy surrounds himself. By his action on Cuba, the President has now interrupted at least momentarily the long march of retreat. But in the further run the retreat will not be reversed unless he decides to break with that system of ideas and with the men who are its victims.

There are rough seas ahead, not only in the Caribbean. Only an ignoramus or a moral degenerate will talk loosely about pressing nuclear buttons. Our purpose must still be to win our way, without the final appeal to the unimaginable catastrophe of nuclear warfare, to our goal of a world in which free men can live peacefully—and it may be that the President, in his sudden shift, has made his political confrontation with Khrushchev a little too direct: the soundest strategists always leave *the enemy* room for retreat. But what is done is done. The difficulties we face now are the direct result of our failure in the past to accost reality. And we must bear the consequences of our own mistakes—however grisly, however painful. We are ready.

## *Death Watch*

The pacifists have scheduled a shoot-'em-up for the week of Nov. 5 through Nov. 11. A very busy week it will be, to judge from the agenda for pacifists in the general area of New York, who are to be kept busy between 8:00 A.M. Monday ("Individual action: Picket where you work") and 8:00 P.M. Sunday



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## *Report on a Rally*

*New York, Oct. 23*—One of the dreariest political campaigns in the memory of New Yorkers received a badly-needed jolt last night when the brash new Conservative Party kicked off the final two weeks with a rally in Madison Square Garden.

Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats had dared to reserve the huge Garden this year, plainly doubting their ability to fill it. But the Conservatives not only rented it: they actually insisted upon charging admission fees up to $25 for choice seats—a positively unheard-of tactic in political circles.

Despite such recklessness, and despite the President's announcement of his new Cuban policy on national TV just an hour before the rally was scheduled to begin, a crowd variously estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000 thronged into the great hall.

This one had everything: a blaring brass band to stir the blood; powerful spotlights transfixing the speakers or playing over the bunting-draped arena; homemade standards from seemingly every borough and suburban community of the city; and—above all—a delighted and good-humored crowd that roared its answers to every rhetorical question.

The climactic speeches were those of Conservative senatorial candidate Kieran O'Doherty (a "smiling Irishman" if there ever was one—clear, crisp, already at 36 a self-assured public speaker) and gubernatorial candidate David H. Jaquith. Chairman J. Daniel Mahoney's introduction of the latter touched off a demonstration that lasted nearly ten minutes, snaking around the arena and under the speakers' rostrum where Jaquith stood.

When it was over, the impression that remained most forcefully was of the faces of the crowd: young, for the most part; not crabbed or bitter, but good-natured and firmly determined. For these people, one felt, there was work to do.—Q.

*Nuggets from the speeches:*

*(Wm. F. Buckley Jr.)* "The President informed us that at the moment Cuba has acquired the weapons to deliver nuclear devastation . . . What is Kennedy's reply? That no more weapons, than those the Cubans now have, will be permitted to enter. The Cubans will not, so long as Mr. Kennedy is President, be permitted to accumulate more than their fair share of nuclear weapons. Fair play for Cuba, our President believes, who staggered America tonight with the information that what Gromyko had told him last Thursday turned out to be false. Gromyko will be reported to the United Nations."

*(Kieran O'Doherty)* "I have a message for Senator Javits. The Conservative Party is no Republican splinter. We are fed up to the teeth with the political shell game that leaves the conservatives without any representation in major elections. We are going to get that representation, and turn this state and this country on a new course."

*(David Jaquith)* "Our party alone in New York stands as a party of principle. We alone are dedicated to the proposition that the principles of limited government and limited taxation shall not vanish from our state—and that we can and will lead our state to new heights of prosperity and achievement by the continued emphasis of programs and policies based in a belief in the strength and determination of our individual citizens."

("Torchlight parade to Times Square"). During that period demonstrations will be made, lasting between one and six hours, against: AFL-CIO, Chrysler, Lockheed, General Electric, Union Carbide, the National Association of Manufacturers, North American Aviation, the New York Stock Exchange, Federal House of Detention, General Dynamics, Standard Oil, Boeing Aircraft, Radio Corporation of America, and the Fort Tilden Nike Missile Base (whose exclusive assignment it is to dispatch explosive welcomes to meet any airplanes that wing over this way carrying nuclear greetings from our Soviet cousins). Lest the New York Committee for a General Strike for Peace appear to be biased, one whole hour is reserved for picketing the Soviet Embassy, about whom the Committee speaks in the following bellicose language: "Wed. Nov. 5, 4:00 P.M. —5:00 P.M.: Soviet Embassy (68th St. & Park Avenue). (This day is the 45th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution which was called to end the war. The Soviet State today is its own chief contractor for war production.)"

One wonders whether to cry or to laugh. One decides: to cry—over the seemingly invincible incapacity of the tormented sponsors of this movement to reason through to the consequences for themselves and others if they were to succeed in their stated purpose: namely, bring about a) for the majority, violent death; b) for the surviving minority, slavery. They are temporarily immune to argument; but let us hope not permanently immune. Treat them kindly if you run into them, and hug them less tightly than the Russian bear. For the record, the international sponsors of this warmongering group are: Dorothy Day,* Babette Deutsch,* Ralph Di Gia,? Paul Goodman*, David McReynolds,? Ashley Montagu,* A. J. Muste,* Sir Herbert Read,* Bertrand Russell,* Bayard Rustin,? Pitirim Sorokin.*

(*) = Distinguished Ass. (?) = Undistinguished Ass.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# tell someone you know...

about **NATIONAL REVIEW**

We do.

Every chance we get.

We think an awful lot of *National Review.*

Of course, we work here (in fact, that's *why* we work here).

So maybe we're prejudiced; but anyway, we think it deserves the best.

Consider advertising. Did you know that the *best* advertising is invisible? No one ever sees it. It's never even printed.

It's word of mouth.

That's why we never miss an opportunity to tell someone about *National Review.*

Vacation. Weekends. Planes. Evenings. Golf. Pretty soon, skiing (last season, one of our boys talked about *National Review* for *two solid hours* to a perfect stranger. Poor fellow: he had a broken leg. He recovered, though —renewed his subscription last week.)

Don't wait for a captive audience.

Tell someone you know about *National Review now.* (Or corner an absolute stranger. Suit yourself.)

The important thing is *your recommendation.* If we have *that,* we can go on being the fastest-growing magazine in America.*

Will you do us that favor? Use the card facing this page *today.*

P. S. If you need extra cards for extra friends—or even a whole lot of them, for your group or club meeting—we'll be glad to send as many as you want. Just write P. J. Gorman, *National Review.*

*Magazine Publishers Association report of percentage of change in members' circulation, first six months 1961 to same period, 1962. *National Review:* plus 90%; next highest increase 43.8%.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Darlington Precedent

Last week the newspapers devoted considerable space to reporting the decision of the National Labor Relations Board in the Darlington case; as well they might have, for the decision thrusts offensively into an area of private right and private concern with menacing verve. At stake is nothing less than what one would have thought is the absolute right of an individual, or a corporation, to go out of business for any reason whatever.

Here are the facts. In 1956, the Darlington Company, a textile mill in South Carolina, decided to go out of business. The controlling (70 per cent) interest in the company was exercised by a family, the Milliken family, which also controls the prominent Deering Milliken companies—whose advertisements on the second page of NATIONAL REVIEW are familiar to our readers. For several years, Darlington's was a marginal operation. During the summer of 1956, a labor union, campaigning stridently on the need for greater wages, succeeded by the narrow margin of eight votes in unionizing the Darlington Company. The organizers had pledged to bring higher wages and benefits to the workers. In their zeal to organize, the union did not broadcast information of crucial relevance, namely, that Darlington was already an unprofitable company, and that wages were already higher at Darlington than at competitive firms. Faced with the problem of coping with a labor union pledged to wring increased wages out of non-existent profits, the managers of Darlington did as you and I, unless bereft of our senses, would do: having concluded that continued existence under competitive circumstances was impossible, the owners of Darlington decided to dissolve the company.

The union promptly retaliated. Its grounds: dissolution of a business following on the heels of unionization is an unfair labor practice and is therefore in violation of the National Labor Relations Act. Darlington replied: surely there is no law on earth which requires the directors of a business to continue in operation when it becomes absolutely clear that to do so is economically impossible.

With great ingenuity the labor union, unable to cope with so direct and unanswerable an argument, advanced the theory that other companies controlled by the same persons who controlled the Darlington Company must be held co-responsible with Darlington for the offense of dissolution on the heels of a union election. Thus the union advanced the bizarre thesis that because the same family that controlled Darlington also controlled other businesses elsewhere, those businesses should be held to account, and forced to hire, or compensate, the displaced workers at Darlington. Such a thesis, which implies for instance that if you own simultaneously a shoe factory and an orange juice factory, and the former becomes, as the result of inordinate demands upon it by labor, unprofitable, why, you may not dissolve it without committing the resources of the orange juice company to settle economic complaints against you by the labor union. It was never charged that the Darlington plant's dissolution was, to use the terminology of the unions, a case of "runaway plant." Its assets—its machinery, its inventory, everything—were actually sold on the open market, its customers told to look elsewhere for supplies. Thirty per cent of its stockholders were unconnected with Deering Milliken; its dissolution was not, in any way, merely an economic evasion.

Nonetheless, the union sued. And after six years it has got from the NLRB, by a vote of 3-2—the three Democratic members voting against the two Republican members—the extraordinary decision that all of the corporate resources owned by the Milliken family are jointly liable for paying back wages to all the members of the Darlington plant who did not immediately find other jobs at equivalent wage levels. Plus 6 per cent.

The legal strategy of the Milliken family showed the kind of concern for the commonweal which is rare nowadays. Milliken did not argue on the broad ground that any industry for any reason may at its own choosing go out of business—is there a more natural right? (A member of the NLRB, a former U.S. senator, asked the union counsel during the oral argument whether if he decided he was tired of paying federal income taxes, he might not, if he chose to, sit back and stop earning income? Counsel declined to disagree.) Rather than argue the basic question, Milliken *et al.* argued the narrower, though highly important question of liability. And on that point they have, incredibly, lost; implying that every shoe company in America is responsible for alleged liabilities of every orange juice company. The reason for opting to defend themselves on the narrower ground is that the prospect of an adverse decision on the broader ground (namely, can a company fold up?) was one to be avoided at all costs.

But now Deering Milliken has no alternative but to go to the courts and raise the generic question. We have no doubt that if, in the unlikely event the court should so construe the National Labor Relations Act as to deny the sovereign right of individuals

COMING NEXT ISSUE:

*FALL BOOKS*
*and*
*THE MEANING OF DE GAULLE FOR EUROPE*
*by Thomas Molnar*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to decide for themselves, by their use of their own economic judgment, whether to continue in operation, that Congress will move rapidly to deliver us from so unforeseen a consequence of a notoriously loosely written law. But the time has come to ring the alarum. The principle being advanced here by the labor unions projects a kind of fascistic interconnection which belies the very principle of incorporation and its limited liabilities. That actually is the logic of the historic Darlington decision and an object of concern to judges and legislators throughout the United States; to say nothing of free men everywhere.

## *Light in the Heart of Darkness*

A Washington report last Monday morning, blanketed by the Cuban crisis, hints that Washington is "easing" its Katanga policy: which would mean, if so, that our government will no longer give unconditional support to UN plans for crushing Moise Tshombe. This rumor is strengthened by information that the President himself read Senator Thomas J. Dodd's brilliant historical analysis of the Katanga affair—much of it printed in NATIONAL REVIEW, August 28—and thereafter assigned it to his White House staff.

Cyrille Adoula and the "hards" on the UN Congo Advisory Committee (Ethiopia, Ghana, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Ceylon, Indonesia), who have been pushing the secret program revealed in NATIONAL REVIEW's last issue, are said to be dismayed by this American turn toward sanity, as well they might be. From the beginning, in spite of the State Department's habit of busily washing its hands of these episodes, the UN operation in the Congo has been entirely dependent on American support. If this is withdrawn, the plan for the armed coercion of Katanga will collapse, and there will be a renewed chance for settlement of the Congo problem on the basis of a loose confederal union that will respect the provincial realities.

This happier outcome is by no means assured as yet. We note that the content of the secret plan and its proposed schedule for the political and military moves against Tshombe (already thrown off, as the memorandum itself indicated might happen, by Washington's wish for conciliation) have also been published in Paris' leading morning newspaper, *Le Figaro*, and in Brussels' most prominent paper, *Libre Belgique*. *Le Figaro* further reports that the African hards are motivated by their estimate that an orderly, viable Congo would quickly become the leading nation of sub-Saharan Africa. The best way to block the arrival of such a rival to their own pretensions is to push the UN into wrecking the most productive Congolese regions while the expeditionary force is

## *For the Record*

Republican congressional leaders determined to get look-see at list of items the Navy will allow into Cuba--in hopes of salvaging some campaign material from Cuban issue. . . . Presidential about-face on question of quarantine embarrassing members of his own Administration. Both Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson had gone far out in attacks on "warmongers" who call for "irresponsible" action against Cuba including "naval blockades." . . . Election prospects of Sen. Homer Capehart (R., Ind.), whom JFK had personally attacked, helped by new tack. . . . Another unexpected gainer: Richard Nixon. California Democrats had hoped to raise up to $100,000 at rallies Kennedy scrapped when he hurried back to Washington a fortnight ago. . . . To demonstrate effectiveness of new high altitude photographing techniques, the Air Force last week put on display a picture of a man reading a newspaper in a Manhattan backyard. It had been taken by an RB-47—at 40,000 feet.

International Red Cross reports it was asked to investigate 10,650 disappearances in Algeria between March 19—when Evian agreement was signed—and early September. . . . Official French figures show that as of September 1, 598,000 Algerians of European descent and 40,000 Moslems had fled to France. . . . Algerian Government has forbidden the sale of any abandoned property or equipment in direct contradiction of Evian accord. . . . Small rumpus developing in England over disclosure that a British firm had shipped 600 tons of barbed wire to East Germany last summer—shortly before the Wall went up.

Fighting gallant, if hopeless, campaigns against entrenched 100 per cent ADA Congressmen Cornelius Gallagher (D., N.J.) and Charles Buckley (D., N.Y.) are Eugene F. Kenny and John Parker. Significance: this is first time in either of those congressional districts that a conservative has been nominated. . . . Communist Party kicked off its 1962-1963 anti-HUAC drive last week with rally at Manhattan Center.

Computer World Series on Election Night: CBS will be using IBM; NBC, RCA and ABC, Remington-Rand's UNIVAC.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

still in the field. It was this outlook that gave such urgency and ferocity to the secret program.

Let us hope that the rumored shift of the American position proves to be fact. It may be that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have informed Mr. Kennedy that they have needs for their planes more pressing than the transport of arms and Gurkhas for the purpose of killing pro-Western Katangans.

## The Difference

It will be said: Well, the United States has bases and offensive weapons ringing the borders of the Soviet Union, why shouldn't the Soviet Union have a base bordering the United States?

It should be answered: 1) Our bases are in independent countries with the voluntary consent of natively controlled governments, Cuba's government is controlled by the Soviet Union. 2) Our bases have as their purpose safeguarding a) the independence of the nations that act as our hosts; b) other nations threatened by Communist conquest; and c) our own independence. The base in Cuba is intended to reinforce foreign military domination over Cuba itself, and to subvert the independence of other nations. 3) We are pledged to use our bases only for defensive reasons; the Russians are pledged to carry on their war for total domination, by the use of all their resources, including especially their military bases. 4) By the record, we tend to keep our pledges; the Soviet Union tends to violate its pledges, except that which calls for dominating the world. 5) Our bases are armed with thermonuclear material because our efforts for general nuclear disarmament have failed; the Russians arm their Cuban bases with thermonuclear weapons because they do not intend to give up a prime instrument for mass terrorization. 6) If two people push an old lady, what is the difference? One pushes her into the path of an oncoming train. The other pushes her out of the way.

## Gaullist Apocrypha

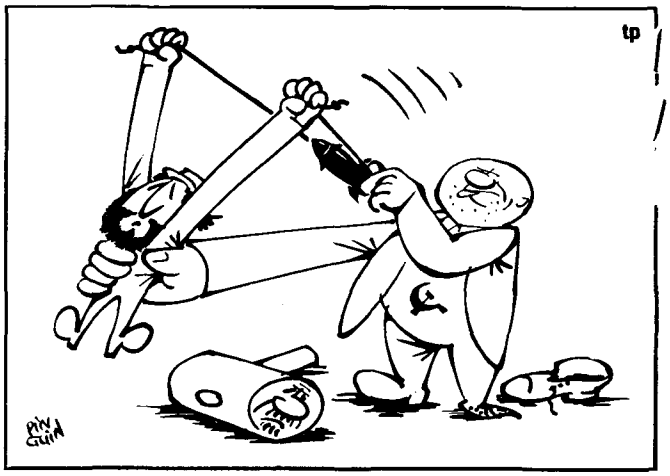
In a letter to NATIONAL REVIEW Mr. Benjamin Protter, editor of the monthly bulletin *Today in France*, calls attention to an apocryphal document that appeared first in France and is now making the rounds of various publications in the United States. We agree with Mr. Protter that this document's credentials should be withdrawn before it becomes established in the manner of a number of equally aprocryphal statements attributed to Lenin, Stalin, Dimitrov and Khrushchev. Mr. Protter comments:

"This document relates a purported conversation that supposedly took place between President de Gaulle and the French General de Beaufort in 'the spring of 1960.' De Gaulle is said to have declared that 'the evolution toward Communism is inevitable,' that he gives himself 'two years after peace is established with Algeria to make France into a Communist country,' and that 'he has the strongest reasons to believe that Kennedy would accept a Communist Europe. . . .'

"The internal evidence in the document itself, notably the statement that the conversation took place in the spring of 1960—when Kennedy was neither President nor even the candidate of the Democratic Party—should be enough to suggest its degree of credibility.

"Although de Gaulle has never hesitated to use the French Communist Party and the votes it controls to further his own political ends, such actions of his stem from a dangerous opportunism, not a conviction that Communism is the wave of the future.

"No one is more convinced than I that General de Gaulle represents a threat, in his person as well as in his policies, to the immediate and long-range interests of France and the West. However, I consider it extremely unwise to accuse him falsely; there are many obvious and stronger reasons to condemn his course."




*Another new proposal for preserving world peace.*

## Notes and Asides

In ten days or so, God and the Soviet Union permitting, you will be receiving a communication from Publisher William A. Rusher which you will, please, read *immediately*. It contains news, oh so secret, affecting your pocketbook and ours, and other lesser matters of great moment. If you have not received said letter by the end of the month, there is a Communist in your local post office intercepting your mail. Drop us a note, and we'll send you another copy.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *From Washington Straight*

CATO

When President Kennedy cut short his campaign swing on Saturday, October 20, it was the consensus in Washington that he had taken a good look at the half-hearted crowds and decided that he should have stood in bed. The comings and goings at the White House on Sunday failed to convince the press that Mr. Kennedy was up to anything more important than covering his retreat. On Monday morning, despite loud rumors that the President was making a speech that night of "urgent importance," the skeptics still held sway.

*Cato*

But as the day advanced, the White House press secretaries and spokesmen for the State and Defense Departments began deliberately to build up tension. Everything from talk of a general mobilization to even more wildly speculative talk about a "new" Berlin crisis "leaked" out of government offices. The vast Administration press apparatus moved into action until even the most dubious began to suspect that Mr. Kennedy was really planning to get off the dime.

To one question, however, there was no answer: What had happened on Saturday to create the "emergency"? In the growing excitement, few stopped to consider that, out on the hustings, the President had discovered that his inactivity on Cuba could elect a Republican Congress. In the international furor which followed his speech, few bothered to remember that the President had been warned by CIA early in September that the Soviets were building 24 missile sites in Cuba (nine of them completed) from which to launch medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles.

On October 16, by the President's own admission, he had received "hard" proof of the existence of these sites as well as of the nuclear missiles on hand. Yet nothing had been done about this. Neither the White House nor the Pentagon stirred. On Thursday, October 18, Mr. Kennedy had conferred with Foreign Minister Gromyko—but from internal evidence in the speech, this proof (U-2 overflight photographs) was not waved under Gromyko's nose.

If the President's Oct. 22 speech came as a blockbuster to Premier Khrushchev, it was also one to the national Republican leadership, which had decided just a fortnight before to rip the lid off Cuba and make it the number one issue of the political campaign.

In making Cuba The Issue of the campaign, the GOP realized that it would be scrapping the bipartisan foreign policy which has more or less obtained since Arthur Vandenberg formulated it during the second World War. But the Republicans had come to the decision that this step was necessary because of widely held, but never publicly enunciated, feeling among responsible Republican leaders that the Administration was tending to follow the Rostow-Harlan Cleveland appeasement line to the peril of the nation.

The GOP leaders had noted that the "Russia is mellowing" crowd continued to be influential in the State Department and among White House Presidential aides, and sources close to both had reported great enthusiasm at the prospect of settling a whole raft of so-called "irritants" which were "blocking understanding between the United States and the USSR." They believed recent feelers from Moscow about the possibility of a Summit Conference, should Nikita Khrushchev decide to attend this session of the United Nations General Assembly, indicated that the Soviets also felt a deal could be made. The Republicans had come to the conclusion that unless Khrushchev was taught a lesson in Cuba, some kind of international trade involving both Berlin and Cuba would result.

Back in December of 1960, as many of the GOP leaders knew, Walt Rostow had gone to Moscow for an international gathering of sorts and talked with top Soviet officials. While he has denied it, the story persists that he asked the Soviets what JFK could do to lessen tensions and remove East-West irritants.

According to reports current at the time, the number one item on the Soviet list of irritants was America's first-strike capability, which they claimed (and Rostow is said to have believed) prevented them from accepting as valid assurances that we have no designs on the Soviet Union.

Since that time much has happened to lend credence to this story. The B-70, a prime first-strike weapon, has been all but scrapped and SAC today is relying exclusively upon the already obsolete B-52 bomber for our manned-bomber establishment. It is certain that in the months that followed the Rostow visit the theory of massive deterrence began in fact to give way to Gen. Maxwell Taylor's "limited warfare" concept. What attacks the Republicans had mounted against the Administration in the intervening twenty months had been muted, but now they felt they must move before it was too late.

And then, whambo, the Presidential bombshell.

It knocked the carefully elaborated GOP strategy in the head. General Eisenhower responded at once with a call to the nation to unite behind the President. ("We must pledge him our help in whatever way we can be of help.") Senator Keating, who more than any other Republican had striven to bring the facts about the missile build-up in Cuba to the people, commented, "I think he has taken Cuba out of politics," a statement with a slight sting in its tail since he added: "If the price the Republicans must pay for this action is the loss of some seats or some votes, I think it's a pretty small price." Senator Goldwater, while thankful that the President had done "what we have all been urging him to do," wondered whether Mr. Kennedy would be able to face up "to the necessity of an invasion, which I think is inevitable."

It was a game effort but no go. "A lot of Democratic heads will roll in November unless something is done about Cuba," Sen. Smathers had said only a week earlier. And now something had been done about Cuba.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## The Third World War

# *Emancipation Proclamation*

JAMES BURNHAM

*The President of the General Assembly, the Honorable Tagfa Mlaluwe, Foreign Minister of Gabon:* The Chair recognizes the delegate from the United States.

*The Chief of the U.S. Delegation:* Mr. President, I rise to explain to the Assembly the reasons for the action that my country will take with respect to the pending resolution calling on my government to transfer jurisdiction over the Panama Canal to the Trusteeship Council. This will be our first application of a basic policy decision that will guide my government's future relations with the United Nations organization.

This Assembly now comprises 110 members, each with one vote. The continent of Africa, with a total population of 227 million, has 33 votes. Non-Latin North America, with a population of 205 million, has two votes. Asia plus Oceania has 26 votes; Latin America, 22 votes. A majority in this Assembly may now be constituted by 56 nations having less than 10 per cent of the populations here represented; having, indeed, a total population less than that of my country alone. More than half of the member nations have populations less than that of the State of Maryland.

The disparity in population is, however, a secondary factor; and in that sense one other member nation (India) is still more grossly disfranchised than my own; and another (the Soviet Union), is only slightly better off. Far more significant in distorting the structure of this organization are the disparities in political, economic, educational and moral development. The *total* wealth of sixty of the member nations combined is less than that of the single State of Ohio. Many of these members can be called "nations" only as a courtesy title, since they possess none of the historical, geographic, ethnic, economic or political conditions that give reality to national existence. In many of them fractions of the population up to 99 per cent are illiterate. In more than half of the member nations there does not exist even a small administrative and political class qualified to carry on the work of responsible government. In some of them, slavery, ritual murders, the practice of assassination, cannibalism and customs of the utmost savagery and obscenity continue as integral elements of the local culture.

There come before this Assembly issues of the utmost moment for human civilization. It is absurd, it is literally insane, to submit such issues to the will of a collectivity so constituted. Even if every delegate were individually qualified in the highest degree, intellectually and morally—which I must in all candor report to be by no means the present reality—the greater number of them still could not vote and act on these issues responsibly, because they represent nothing responsible.

### *Who Calls the Tune*

Can these dozens of semi-nations and pseudo-nations share the costs of the motions their spokesmen adopt with such carefree abandon? They cannot meet even the minimum costs of their own maintenance; they exist only by virtue of subsidies from the great powers—principally from my own country. Can they supply the technicians, educators, scientists, doctors and administrators for the great projects about which the delegates declaim so eloquently? It is rather they, as we all know, who are in need of all help and guidance. Can they furnish the soldiers, the arms and strategists to guard the peace of the world that their unbridled provocations so regularly endanger? Is it they who have the wisdom and the right to instruct, by their votes, the great nations who have painfully labored up the ladder of civilization on the customs, morals and institutions of domestic life?

Experience here further teaches us that submission of the issues of political and social substance to the vote of this body does not normally work toward the solution of those issues, their reasonable compromise and the reduction of international tensions. Confronted with major issues (China, Berlin, Southeast Asia, Cuba), this organization proves its impotence by doing nothing. On minor issues its intervention serves to harden the disputants, encourage demagogy, inflame passions and compound the tensions.

### *One Equals Majority*

My government, therefore, with these facts before it, has reached a decision, too long delayed: that henceforth we shall not vote on any matter of political or military substance that is brought before this Assembly or before the Security Council. We shall not vote For; we shall not vote Against; we shall not even Abstain. We shall not participate in any sense in the vote, nor accept it, nor recognize it in any way.

We shall continue to support the technical activities of the United Nations organization and its various affiliated bodies. We shall continue to be willing to discuss any question whatever with representatives of any and all other nations under the auspices of this Assembly, the Council or other agencies of this organization. We believe that this organization has served and can continue to serve a useful purpose in carrying out practical tasks on an international scale, arranging practical international cooperative endeavors, gathering information, and acting as a general communications center for all nations. But we shall not recognize or support any political or military enterprise in which it may engage.

You will realize, I am sure, that this decision on the part of my government, though we cast only our one vote among the 110, necessarily determines the future course of this organization. Without our participation, the role of the United Nations as an irresponsible political sovereign automatically dissolves. I trust, then, that you will accept our decision with good grace, as the best hope for peace, amity and progress among all nations of the world. But you will in any case accept it.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *Election Forecast*

**Watch the House races: substantial GOP gains there —of ten to twenty seats—will materially bolster the anti-New Frontier coalition in Congress**

M. STANTON EVANS

With the 1962 elections only a fortnight away, conservatives around the nation looked forward to important gains in their struggle to tame the wilder reaches of the New Frontier. In most cases, these hopes were tied to the fortunes of the Republican Party. In special circumstances, they had flourished independently of it. National interest has focused on the House of Representatives, where—unlike the Senate—there is at least a possibility of GOP control, and where President Kennedy would account himself fortunate to hold his own.

The off-year trend, which historically subtracts congressional seats from the party in power is running in the Republicans' favor, and predictions of House gains have ranged all the way up into the 40s. More realistic estimates now place the number of seats Republicans may gain at around twenty—quite enough to put an already recalcitrant Congress in thrall to a dependable conservative majority.

By and large, the candidates fielded by the GOP for congressional seats are conservatives. They expect to make headway by virtue of public resentment of President Kennedy's high-handed conduct in domestic matters and his failure to confront and check the threat of Communism abroad. In the North and Midwest, the image of Kennedy as a domestic rascal stems from his performance in the steel crisis. In the South, from his invasion of Mississippi. Throughout the country, his fumbling act over Cuba had been a prime foreign policy issue until last week's switch. Republicans from Orlando to Bangor hoped to make these topics pay off.

The President's about-face on Cuba, of course, is a political imponderable. It is a popular move, which should help the Democrats; but it is also a confirmation of what Republicans have been demanding, which makes them look both more prescient and more dependable than their opponents.

In the contests for governorships, ideological lines tend to become a bit more blurred. It is not at all unusual to find "modern" GOP candidates for governor teamed up with conservative aspirants to Congress. A notable example is Connecticut, where John Alsop, brother to the Liberal journalists, is the gubernatorial candidate, and John Lupton, a fighting conservative, is making a determined bid to become Congressman-at-large. A similar condition obtains in Michigan, where compact Republican George Romney is running with Alvin Bentley, conservative nominee for the state's at-large House seat; in New York, where Nelson Rockefeller coexists with a predominantly conservative congressional delegation; California, where Richard Nixon has alternately run against and with some of the most conservative Republicans on Capitol Hill; Nebraska, where Eisenhower Republican Fred Seaton is on the ticket with a group of congressmen who would give Sherman Adams a bad case of the shimmies; and Pennsylvania, where Liberal William Scranton is teamed with James Van Zandt, who is trying to capture ADAer Joe Clark's seat in the Senate.

This division promises to perpetuate the historic makeup of the GOP in recent years—conservative on the Hill, "modern" in the governors' mansions, with more of the same all around. The reasons for that makeup seem to be that governors and aspiring governors tend to think of themselves as Presidential timber, and are therefore fond of tailoring their statements on national issues to the Eisenhower-Dewey pattern which has dominated Republican Presidential politics since 1940. Congressmen, on the other hand, usually know their particular districts well, and respond to the particular views they know to prevail at home.

Some of these differences can be divined from a fleeting survey of what is going on around the country.

## *The East*

The political quadrant of America extending from Casco Bay south to the Potomac, and westward to the Ohio, offers the highest quotient of "modern" GOP gubernatorial candidates, and the smallest likelihood of Republican gains in Congress. Rockefeller, Alsop and Scranton have attracted wide notice in the national press, but the Republicans running with them do not expect to benefit appreciably from that fact. Republican gains in the East appear most probable in John Lupton's at-large campaign in Connecticut, in a sudden-death playoff between two incumbents in West Virginia, and in the First District of Maryland.

One observer of the Connecticut race notes: "Alsop is getting bad press releases from his vaunted staff, *i.e.*, embarrassing releases calling for the completion of roads that were finished four years ago and laudatory statements about U. Conn. establishing a branch at Torrington (six years old). Has taken the edge off his cam-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paign. Even Rockefeller resources may not be able to bail him out. Lupton carrying most of the campaign. Leaves clear-cut choice for voters and is getting great press, and editorial comment."

Lupton is aiming for the seat vacated by Frank Kowalski, defeated for the Democratic senatorial nomination by Abraham Ribicoff. The seat is considered "marginal," as are almost all those Republicans hope to pick up, and GOP strategists rate Lupton's chances highly. Horace Seely-Brown, a former congressman running against Ribicoff for the upper chamber, is a slight underdog, but his campaign has forced the New Frontiersman to trim his ideological sails considerably.

In New York, the GOP is threatening in the First District (Long Island), where Republican Walter Ormsby is pitted against maverick Democrat Otis Pike Jr. West Virginia's First District may go to popular Congressman Arch Moore, redistricted into a walkdown with aging Kennedy stalwart Cleveland Bailey. Republicans are predicting no gains in Pennsylvania or New Jersey.

While the Eastern congressional races provide no indicia of massive upheaval, this section can nevertheless claim the campaign's most interesting departure: the bid of New York's infant Conservative Party to make a place for itself in the heart of Rockefeller country, which David Jaquith analyzes elsewhere in this issue.

## *The South*

Spartanburg, South Carolina, is the home of Senator Olin Johnston, New Deal Democrat standing for re-election. It is also the home of Bob Chapman, an energetic young attorney who serves as chairman of the state's surging Republican Party. Chapman is superintending an effective statewide campaign which offers Johnston his first real challenge since 1950—and the first ever from a Republican. The GOP candidate is newspaperman W. D. Workman, an articulate and aggressive conservative.

While Johnston's New-Dealing ways furnish Workman with plenty of campaign ammunition, the incumbent is still a heavy favorite. Johnston has not been remiss in the dissemination of patronage, and as Chairman of the Senate Post Office Committee he presides over a choice repository of jobs. As of three weeks before the balloting, Workman forces were gaining strength from Southern reaction to Kennedy's occupation of Mississippi, but still going against the odds.

Palmetto State Republicans have sent a single congressional candidate into the fray, and his chances are rated as excellent. He is a young (35) Goldwater-style conservative named Floyd Spence, running in the Second District. The temper of the constituency (which includes Columbia, the state capital) may be judged from the fact that his opponent, one Albert Watson, was state "Democrats for Nixon" Chairman in 1960.

Eighty miles north and east from Spartanburg, the Carolinas' only incumbent Republican in national office is fighting a difficult battle for re-election. In a contest produced by whimsical redistricting, North Carolina's Charles Raper Jonas will run strongly in Mecklenburg County (Charlotte), but will have to overcome heavy rural strength behind Democrat Paul Kitchin. In the state's

*Richard Nixon*

Ninth District, Republican Jim Broyhill is challenging incumbent Democrat Hugh Alexander. Young Republicans have turned out in heavy numbers to work for Broyhill, who could bring off one of the major upsets of the election.

Miami, Florida, is a stronghold of conservative sentiment—one of the most active in the nation. Ironically, its conservatism does not seem fated to work itself out in increased representation in the next Congress. The problem, once again, can be traced to skillful redistricting. The preposterous figure of Claude Pepper may once more stalk Capitol Hill, representing Florida's newly-created Third District. Famed for his pro-Soviet rhapsodies during the New Deal era, Pepper is now running with the support of a "Dear Claude" letter from President Kennedy. In the neighboring Fourth District, conservative Republican Jay McGlon has campaigned hard on the Cuban issue, vital to Floridians, but doesn't figure to unseat entrenched New Frontiersman Dante Fascell. In the Twelfth District (St. Petersburg), GOP incumbent Bill Cramer looks safe, while Republican Edward Gurney is considered better than even to take the new Eleventh District (Orlando), which went for Nixon in 1960.

A campaign of national import revolves around Arkansas Senator J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and author of the thesis that military men should be neither seen nor heard in connection with anti-Communism. Fulbright's Republican opponent is Dr. Kenneth Jones, like most southern Republicans a vigorous anti-Communist and conservative. Jones is hitting hard at Fulbright's "internationalist" tendencies and his dismal record on the Communist question.

The most impressive GOP effort in the South is taking place in Texas, where no less than nineteen Republican candidates are seeking congressional seats (Texas has 23). Standout conservatives are Desmond Barry (at-large), Jack Seale (18th District) and Ed Foreman (16th District). Barry won statewide and national fame in his winning struggle against Jimmy Hoffa, when the Teamster boss sought to put the squeeze on Barry's small trucking firm. Seale is the mayor of Amarillo, running against conservative Democrat Walter Rogers. Foreman is pitted against J. T. "Slick" Rutherford, recipient of a $1,500 donation from noted constituent B. S. Estes. Republican strategists believe they can win these three races, while retaining the Fifth District, where Texas' only incumbent Republican, Bruce Alger, holds forth. They are counting on the added momentum of a strong gubernatorial race staged by Jack Cox, who faces returning New Frontiersman John Connally. Cox, like John Tower, figures to benefit not only from a con-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servative resurgence, but from the disaffection of Liberal Democrats from the Lyndon Johnson variety of Democratic politics.

## *The Midwest*

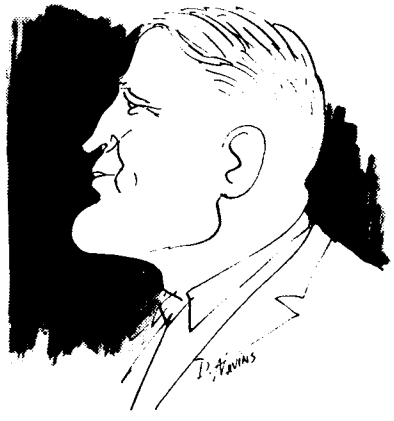
In the two most publicized races in the Midwest, the Republicans are favored to win. Michigan's Governor John Swainson, Democrat, has been trailing auto-maker George Romney in polls conducted by Detroit newspapers. And Robert Taft Jr., running for Ohio's Congressman-at-large seat, is heavily favored over Democrat Richard Kennedy, whose views on "civil rights" have alienated him from the rest of his party.

In the Ohio gubernatorial race, Republican James Rhodes is still rated as a likely winner over Governor Mike DiSalle, who has counter-attacked by questioning Rhodes' disposition of funds raised during previous campaigns. A heavy tax increase requested and obtained by DiSalle is hurting him. In the 17th District, one of the noted "young conservatives" of the 87th Congress, John Ashbrook, is running strongly against Robert Levering, whom Ashbrook defeated in 1960.

Veteran Indiana Senator Homer Capehart is leading his youthful Democratic opponent, state legislator Birch Bayh, although Bayh is running a well-financed and vigorous campaign; the final outcome could be closer than the polls indicate. Most GOP congressmen in the Hoosier State figure to return to Washington next January, and could be accompanied by Republican colleagues from the Fifth and Third Indiana districts, both currently held by Democrats. In Marion County (Indianapolis), stand-out conservative Donald Bruce is, at this writing, running ahead of Capehart; GOP strategists rate his chances of re-election as excellent.

Illinois Republicans expect to pick up a seat in the new Twelfth District, where Robert McClory is favored over Democrat John Clark Kimball. Youthful conservatives Edward Derwinski (Cook County), Harold Collier (Cook County), John Anderson (Rockford) and Bob Michel (Peoria) should all be back in Washington come January. Rep. Paul Findley, still another young conservative, faces a tougher re-election fight, since his district has been merged with that of incumbent Peter Mack. In the race for the Senate, Minority Leader Everett Dirksen is in front of opponent Sidney Yates, but some Republicans fear GOP complacency could cost Dirksen the election.

Wisconsin, like Texas, breaks the Liberal Republican pattern in the gubernatorial races. Conservative



*George Romney*

Phil Kuehn is pitted against Democrat John Reynolds, presently attorney general of the state. Kuehn's chances depend to a large extent on how well Republican factionalism, stemming from a hard primary fight, has been healed. In the congressional races, Representatives Henry Schadeberg, Melvin Laird, and John Byrnes are all favored for re-election. Additionally, Republican Ivan Kindschi is threatening Representative Robert Kastenmeier, of *Liberal Papers* fame. Kindschi says of Kastenmeier: "I do not question his loyalty, however extreme his appeasement policies may seem." Senator Alexander Wiley is in a tight race for re-election against Gaylord Nelson, retiring governor of the state.

In the Dakotas, freshman GOP Senator Joseph Bottum is favored, but only just, over former South Dakota Congressman George McGovern, who lost to Karl Mundt in 1960. The North Dakota gubernatorial race also should be a photo-finish, with Republican Mark Andrews running hard against incumbent Democrat William Guy.

In Nebraska, along with the Seaton race for governor, Republicans are favored to send three congressmen back to Washington. They are Ralph Beerman, Glenn Cunningham and David Martin—all distinguished conservatives. The hottest contest in Kansas is yet another product of redistricting—pitting GOP freshman Bob Dole against Rep. Floyd Breeding. Dole is a hard-hitting conservative, Breeding an equally outspoken Liberal. Dole is favored in what looks like a squeaker.

In the so-called border states—Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma—Republicans are bidding strongly, with conservatism their chief weapon. Tennessee's Third District is under siege from Bill Brock of Chattanooga. Kentucky's Third (Louisville), the scene of a recent Republican revolution at the municipal level, is enlivened by the dawn-to-dark campaign of 34-year-old Gene Snyder, a Goldwater Republican, to defeat Democrat Frank Burke. In Missouri, 37-year-old Crosby Kemper is patterning his campaign after John Tower's Texas effort as he tries to unseat Democrat Edward Long. In a heavily Democratic state, Long is favored. In Oklahoma, GOP gubernatorial candidate Henry Bellmon has been coming up fast on Democrat W. P. Atkinson.

## *The West*

A Republican wind seems to be stirring in the Rockies.

Idaho Democrats are hurting from the legalized gambling issue, advocated by their gubernatorial candidate, Vernon K. Smith, and opposed by former President Truman. Incumbent GOP Governor Robert Smylie is favored. The effects of the gubernatorial battle may help keep the Senate race, pitting Liberal Democrat Frank Church against conservative Republican Jack Hawley, a close one. A Republican sweep is possible.

In Colorado, another young conservative is trying to move up from the House to the Senate. He is Peter Dominick, who is trying to oust an ADA-style Liberal, John Carroll. In Wyoming, conservative feeling seems to be on the rise, and could spell defeat for incumbent Democratic Senator John Hickey, who formerly served as governor and contrived his own appointment to the Senate.

Out California way, the big race is of course Nixon's, and at this point no one is predicting anything with confidence. Republicans are optimistic about holding most of their House seats, but are worried about conservative congressmen Edgar Hiestand and John Rousselot, victims of a fantastic redistricting scheme.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

## *Kennedy, Cuba, and the Voters*

All available evidence would seem to indicate that there is one issue of overriding and decisive concern the country over at this election time: Cuba. Whether, however, in the tangled state of American politics today, this deep concern will be clearly reflected in the election returns is another matter. If it is, there can be no question that the Kennedy Administration will suffer a smashing defeat.

*Meyer*

By that I do not only—or primarily—mean a Republican victory; I mean that Liberals of both parties (or rather, those Liberals whose ideology determines their stand on foreign policy) will suffer seriously, and that the candidates of both parties who have taken a stand for firm and immediate intervention in Cuba (for the most part, conservatives) will register startling gains. In the nature of things this would undoubtedly mean a considerable increase in Republican representation in both Houses of the Congress; but it would not represent a victory for the Republican Party as such, it would simply reflect the fact that by and large a great many more Republican than Democratic candidates tend toward conservatism.

The overwhelming American sentiment for action in Cuba may, however, not be registered in the election returns because of what I have called "the tangled state of American politics." Several factors are involved here. One (and this is in normal circumstances by no means an altogether bad aspect of American politics) is the tendency of congressional elections to reflect multifarious local issues, thus obscuring basic national issues amid the welter of urgent local concerns. Another factor, which is specific to this election, is Kennedy's determined effort to keep foreign policy out of the election—by specious appeals to "bipartisanship" or, alternatively, by trying to blacken the motives and reputation of all critics of his policy, and by tying up the Congress deep into October in a series of struggles on domestic issues. The effectiveness of these tactics has been greatly magnified by a third factor, the ineptitude of the Republican leadership, which has (with important and notable exceptions) so far allowed itself to be bulldozed into fighting the election on Kennedy's terms—and thereby has failed to fulfill its responsibility for the safety of the country, a responsibility that perforce falls on the Opposition when a feeble and faltering Administration puts the country in danger.

Cuba, nevertheless, is the basic issue—and with good reason. *The American people, with instinctive common sense, realize that in the seventeen years of the Cold War this is the turning point.* The rarefied ideologizing and the parlor-game theory, which the Establishment cultivates to deal with our destiny, may put Cuba on a level with Laos or Lebanon, or even the hydroelectric dams for Hindus and food for Poland and planes for Sukarno; but the ordinary American is not swaddled in the layers of ideology that prevent the Establishment from making contact with reality. He knows that there once was a Monroe Doctrine; that calling crack Russian military units "technicians" does not change the meaning of a highly armed enemy force 90 miles off our coast; that if we do not eradicate a focus of infection so near our vitals it will spread until it destroys us.

This instinctive understanding, which washes away all the ifs, ands, and buts that cripple our policy, leads to a forthright conclusion: the Castro regime must be removed by force at the earliest possible moment. It could have been removed a year ago by a variety of methods; six months ago by blockade; but now it must be done by direct action and at once—that is, before Cuba becomes a powerful thermonuclear base. Cuba must be invaded before the Castro government achieves the power to hit back at our shores with devastating effect and before, as a result of our impotence before Castro, the export of Communism from Cuba confronts us with Communist regimes and Soviet bases throughout Latin America.

The decision to do the only thing that can be done in the circumstances, to invade Cuba and destroy the Communist regime, will come from the Administration only if the sentiment of the American people is so clearly expressed in this election that Kennedy will be afraid to ignore it, and if there is returned to the Congress a large enough group of able and energetic men to articulate that sentiment and force action upon Kennedy.

There are key contests to watch as the election returns come in, to determine whether this is happening—contests which will signify much more than will a gross assessment of the Republican-Democratic vote. Indiana Senator Capehart has made Cuba the main issue in that state. There are contests for re-election to the House of the militant group of Republican "Young Turks" (men like Donald Bruce of Indiana, John Ashbrook of Ohio, Bruce Alger of Texas). In California a number of outstandingly anti-Communist candidates are running for congressional seats. In Arkansas it will be worth watching the showing made by the Republican Dr. Kenneth Jones, who is opposing Fulbright largely on the basis of his Establishment record as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

And there will be very great significance in the size of the vote achieved by the new Conservative Party of New York, which is making the demand for action in Cuba central to its campaign.

In these contests, as elsewhere in the country, the issue of Cuba is modified and muted by other problems, but, by and large, there as elsewhere, it will be the critical underlying issue. Let us hope that November 6 will register a verdict for immediate and decisive action that even John F. Kennedy can understand.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *Why I'm Running Against Nelson Rockefeller*

**"Politics," the candidate observes, "is a coldly practical game"—and if principle is to return to it, we must utilize our political leverage**

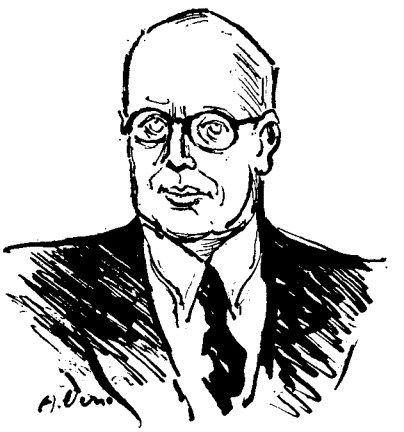
DAVID H. JAQUITH

Six months ago I was a businessman in Syracuse, New York—president of my own steel-fabricating company, 43, happily married and the father of three fine children. Today I am the newly-organized Conservative Party's candidate for Governor of New York, traveling all over the state addressing rallies; and even the supporters of Nelson Rockefeller and Robert Morgenthau privately concede that our party's vote will run well into six figures. My decision to run was a big step to take, and I thought long and hard before taking it. I am grateful for this chance to tell thoughtful Americans everywhere why the Conservative Party of New York was organized, and why I am proud to be its standard-bearer.

Until this year, I had been a lifelong New York Republican. Such stalwart New York conservatives as Republican Congressman Walter Riehlman and Republican State Senator Walter Mahoney, to name only two of many, have chalked up records that do great credit to their party—as I am sure many Democrats in the Al Smith tradition would be the first to agree. I would be an active Republican today if I lived in any state but New York—or even here, if that were the whole story.

But it is *not* the whole story, by a long shot.

As the state with the largest number of electoral votes, New York is a mouth-watering prize for either major party in a Presidential election. A Presidential candidate who is believed able to carry New York has, therefore, a huge advantage over every rival; and that, of course, is why the roster of Presidential candidates of both parties in the last forty years has read like a list of governors



*David H. Jaquith*

of New York (Smith, Roosevelt, Dewey) and prominent New Yorkers (Davis, and those two well-adjusted transplants, Willkie and Eisenhower). Among them, these six men received eleven of the twenty major-party Presidential nominations in the past forty years.

Unfortunately, New York has been, in recent decades, one of our most passionately Liberal states, judged by its governors and its Presidential preferences; and the Republican Party must share the blame for this. New York contains, to be sure, conservatives aplenty—as I have learned in these past few months, during which Conservative Party Clubs have sprung up all over the state. But it also possesses the largest and most highly organized bloc of Liberals in America, and these Liberals have hit upon a fiendishly effective way of making their influence felt at the state level in *both* major parties. To understand it, we must review a little history.

In 1936 the Democrats, unable to attract under their own banner all the far-Left votes they needed, or thought they needed, connived at the formation (in New York State only) of the American Labor Party. This organization, of which Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers and David Dubinsky's International Ladies' Garment Workers were the backbone, promptly nominated Roosevelt for re-election that year, and added its votes to those he rolled up on the Democratic line. The vote gain was substantial, and in ensuing elections for the governorship and other offices the ALP often furnished the winning (or losing) margin. In 1938, for example, it provided Democrat Herbert Lehman with the extra votes he needed to ward off the first gubernatorial bid of the Republicans' young gang-busting District Attorney, Thomas Dewey. Year by year, the picture grew plainer: no Democratic candidate could hope to win a statewide race in New York unless this comparatively small leftist party gave him its blessing and endorsement. The Democratic Party was thus compelled to name *only* candidates acceptable to the Left.

## *The Liberal Party*

In the early 1940s, a power struggle within the ALP for a time diminished its influence. Dubinsky, a dedicated socialist but no Communist, broke with Hillman, who had cynically allied himself with the Communists to control the ALP. Hillman won the battle—but Dubinsky won the war, for he simply pulled his union out of the ALP, founded his own new party (which he accurately named the Liberal Party), and gradually took over the balance-of-power role of the ALP. By 1952 the old ALP was a ghost; but Dubinsky and his Liberal



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Party go marching on—netting 300,000 or 400,000 votes in every statewide election, and invariably bending the Democratic Party to their will.

Their effect, moreover, has been national as well as local. In 1960, when Kennedy led Nixon outside of New York by only 44 electoral votes, and New York's 45 were therefore decisive, Nixon polled 3,446,419 Republican votes in New York to Kennedy's 3,423,909 on the Democratic line. But the Liberal Party gave Kennedy 406,176 *more* votes, and with them New York's crucial 45 electoral votes—and the Presidency. Quite an achievement for a "splinter party"! You can be sure Mr. Kennedy was duly grateful.

New York's Republican Party, watching this situation, soon hit upon a new strategy to cope with it. Thanks to the Liberal Party, the Democrats in New York (and indeed, at national conventions) could be depended upon *never* to nominate a conservative. Conservative voters could equally be depended upon to vote Republican, no matter whom the GOP nominated. ("They have," it was comfortably pointed out, "no place else to go.") The whole problem, for the Republican leaders of New York—and, by extension, for the Republican Party nationally, insofar as its prospects of capturing the Presidency depended upon carrying New York—became simply: how can we lure a sufficient number of Liberal New York votes away from the Democratic-Liberal Party nominees? The answer was, of course: by nominating Liberal Republicans. Since there are no statewide primaries in New York, this answer could not be effectively contested by Republican conservatives, and it is now unchallengeable dogma.

## *Nominal Republicans*

And that is how the Liberal Party —a mere "splinter"—has managed, by playing balance-of-power politics in a single key state, to force *both* major parties for over a score of years to nominate state and national candidates well to the left of majority sentiment in either of them.

Consider the situation. Our senior senator, Jacob Javits, is nominally a Republican—but in the first session of the very Congress that has just adjourned, he scored *a perfect 100 per cent* by the rating system of Americans for Democratic Action—the Sacred Curia of Liberalism. A Republican!

And what of Nelson Rockefeller? He too is a product of the strategy that calls for nominating Liberal Republicans. On top of that, as a busy candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1964, he must continue to keep his Liberal credentials in good order, so that he can present himself to the Republican national convention as the candidate with the best chance of carrying New York against Kennedy. From the standpoint of both state and national politics, in fact, Rockefeller's whole appeal is based on the strategy dictated by the existence of the Liberal Party in New York: he is, indisputably, the Republican candidate most attractive to New York's Liberals. Conservative Republicans can like it or lump it.

Rockefeller would naturally prefer to save this blunt contention for the ears of Republican leaders only. But it is the very foundation of a true understanding of his political posture, and it is crucial that conservatives grasp its significance; otherwise they may be deceived into hoping that he will for some reason turn conservative. He comes, it is argued, from a wealthy family. So what? So did Franklin D. Roosevelt. So do John F. Kennedy, Averell Harriman and Corliss Lamont. Wealth is no antidote for anything— certainly not for Liberalism fired by ambition. Rockefeller is attractive to the Warwicks of the GOP precisely *because* of his demonstrated appeal to Liberal New Yorkers. How likely, then, is he—either as governor or as a first-term President—to diminish that appeal?

A glance at Rockefeller's record to date amply confirms this analysis: it is Liberal through and through.

The biggest single conservative-Liberal controversy of Rockefeller's administration was triggered in 1961 by the efforts of the City of Newburgh to stop the slow strangulation of its taxpayers by welfare chiselers who were loading onto its groaning relief rolls. Newburgh attracted national attention by promulgating thirteen new rules for relief: requiring able-bodied men to work; prescribing monthly review of aid to dependent children, etc. Liberals were, of course, furious at this grassroots "revolt against the masses." And Governor Rockefeller? He promptly ordered the State's Attorney General to haul Newburgh into court and enjoin it from further alleged "violations of state relief standards" by its new regulations. Within weeks the courts had jettisoned twelve of the thirteen Newburgh rules.

## *Welfarist Profligacy*

And so it goes, issue by issue. Rockefeller boasts about bringing new business into the state; yet in my own city of Syracuse, a survey by our manufacturers' association revealed that there had been three plant closings for every business gain claimed by Rockefeller's large and well-oiled publicity machine. He pushed state budget expenditures 48.9 per cent higher than Democratic Governor Harriman's highest—and then actually bragged about increasing income tax collections 55.4 per cent: that was "the conservative way" of paying for his own welfarist profligacy.

On national issues, insofar as he has revealed his position at all, the Liberal bias is equally apparent and would plainly dominate a Rockefeller Presidential Administration. He was the *only* member of the Conference of State Governors who refused to endorse a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's school prayer decision. He was, in the autumn of 1961, the only Republican of national stature who failed to send a message of greeting to the Carnegie Hall rally against the move to admit Communist China into the United Nations. His commitment to greater and greater welfarism at the federal level is legendary. "This country," he recently declared, "hasn't had a sense of purpose and direction since Roosevelt."

The tragedy is that this is the kind of governor New York politics *must* produce as long as the Liberal Party forces the Democrats to nominate Liberals *and the Republicans can take the New York conservative vote for granted.*

Is there a way out of this dilemma? There is—if we have the courage to take it. It is the road taken by the men and women who have founded the New York Conservative Party.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let us, quite simply, do as the Liberals do: give or withhold our support as the candidate in question may deserve. Conservative Republican candidates should, and would, receive the endorsement of the Conservative Party—just as Liberal Democratic candidates today receive the endorsement of the Liberal Party. But *Liberal* Republicans are another matter. Such Republicans do not deserve conservative support—and that, quite simply, is why today the Conservative Party of New York is running candidates against Rockefeller and Javits.

The likeliest upshot is that Rockefeller and Javits—with all the advantages of incumbency—will defeat their Democratic rivals (surely two of the most lackluster figures ever named for high office in this state) and, barring a miracle, that they will outpoll their Conservative opponents too. But it seems quite likely that the Conservative Party will poll a vote that will constitute an unmistakable message to New York Republicanism: "Stop taking us for granted, and face the fact that henceforth you and the Democratic Party will have to take conservative as well as Liberal views into account."

Great will be the wailing and gnashing of teeth in New York Republican circles when the Conservative Party makes that point forcibly on election day by garnering far more than the 50,000 votes legally required for recognition as an official party in the state. But politicians are realists, and they "want to win," and they know how to add. And if, in the years ahead, the relatively conservative Republican Mr. A can have the endorsement of the Conservative Party, and the Liberal Republican Mr. B will most certainly be faced in the general election by a Conservative Party opponent as well as by a Democrat-Liberal, whom do you think the Republican Party will nominate?

Of course, on its part, the Conservative Party must exercise restraint and common sense. We cannot expect the GOP to cater to our views exclusively, or nominate certified rightists only, as long as it must face on election day a Democratic Party still playing demagogic Liberal politics. But a start will at least have been made in the direction of sanity.

Will New York Republicanism be hurt? On the contrary, the Republican Party will be helped very substantially—if it sticks by its principles. Conservative-minded candidates nominated by the Republicans and endorsed by the Conservative Party will receive the support of many New Yorkers who previously voted Democratic by reason of family tradition, as well as of an unknowable number of former stay-at-homes. Conservative leaders in the New York GOP—and they still exist—will inevitably speak with new authority in party circles. Already the Conservative Party has scored one significant victory in turning New York Republicanism to the right: by designating the conservative Senator Mahoney to keynote the Republican state convention last month, the Republican leaders tacitly acknowledged their new dependence on him. I cannot believe the Senator is privately very sorry about this.

## *Voting Conservative*

Still, some conservatives may be reluctant to vote for this new and untested party. Is it composed of "extremists," crackpots, ultras? And anyway, many conservative Republicans may wonder, dare we risk electing Morgenthau governor?

In answer to the first question, I can only point proudly to my colleagues on the Conservative Party slate—every one of them a proven leader in his community—and to the Party's officers and state committee: men and women of the caliber of former Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, NATIONAL REVIEW editors Frank Meyer and William F. Rickenbacker, the best-selling novelist Taylor Caldwell, and Professors Sylvester Petro of New York University and Charles Rice of Fordham. These are not "extremists"; they are among our country's most dedicated and responsible citizens.

In answer to the second question—what if Morgenthau wins?—let me first emphasize that no reputable political analyst in this country considers such an outcome even remotely conceivable, no matter how many votes the Conservative Party polls. The Democrats know they cannot defeat Rockefeller, and consequently are out to encourage a general apathy in which their "regular" vote, plus the usual Liberal Party dividend, will yield a respectable—though still losing—total. (Mr. Morgenthau, no doubt, will receive a federal judgeship for his part in the charade.) Rockefeller, too, knows very well that he will be re-elected; but he is campaigning hard to roll up a huge margin that will start his Presidential bandwagon rolling. It is into that swollen margin that the Conservative Party will cut—and wants to cut.

But let us suppose Rockefeller were to lose to Morgenthau—and that the Conservative Party's vote were responsible for his defeat (which of course would also end his Presiden-

**(Continued on p. 366)**

Chrys — News of the World

***"I should have warned you, Carruthers—anti-Common Market feeling runs a bit high in this part of the Commonwealth."***



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Modern Morality Play

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Let me begin with the simplest fact: Allen Drury has done it again. In *A Shade of Difference* he has triumphantly duplicated the formula—and, predictably, the success—of his Pulitzer Prize-winning best-seller, *Advise and Consent.*

In the earlier book, the setting was the U. S. Senate, and the protagonists were its leaders and various other major figures on the Washington scene. Now the focus has shifted to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the central conflict is fought out on a world stage. But the author's technique remains exactly the same. He paints the picture swiftly, and on a gigantic scale—reminiscent, almost, of one of those huge Mexican murals: crowded, heroic, oversimplified no doubt, but nonetheless powerful and readily intelligible. Principal characters are brought sharply to the fore, and realized in wholly convincing detail; the rest are sketched swiftly and economically, and all—big and small alike—act out their roles in the glamorous goldfish-bowl of the UN, or on the heights of power in Washington. (Many of the key scenes take place in the General Assembly itself, or in the glossy Delegates' Lounge overlooking the East River.)

Aficionados of *Advise and Consent* will find many of its major characters in this sequel. Harley Hudson, who succeeded to the Presidency in the closing pages of the earlier story, is a sage and subtle Chief Executive. Bob Munson continues as Majority Leader of the Senate (and, by the way, has finally made an honest woman of Dolly). The incorruptible Orrin Knox, whose oratory galvanized his senatorial colleagues after the suicide of Brigham Anderson, is President Hudson's Secretary of State. And shrewd old Seab Cooley, senior Senator from South Carolina, continues his gallant but losing battle for the Old Order.

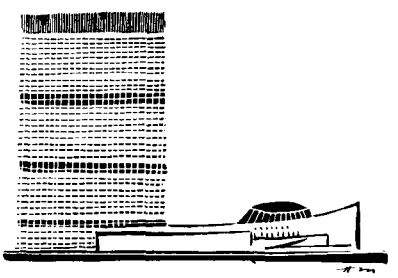
*A Shade of Difference*, by Allen Drury. Doubleday, $6.95

In addition, Drury has invented a number of brand new major characters, and has richly developed others who played only minor roles in *Advise and Consent.* One of the latter—Senator Hal Fry of West Virginia, now acting chief of the U. S. delegation to the UN—struggles bravely for his country in the teeth of a crushing personal sorrow and, ultimately, of a mortal illness as well. One of the former—Representative Cullee Hamilton of California, who is first an American and only second a Negro—is perhaps the chief hero of the book. Another—His Royal Highness Terence Ajkaje, the strapping black M'Bulu of Mbuele, known since his Oxford and Harvard days as "Terrible Terry"—is indisputably the principal villain.

It is Terrible Terry whose gratuitous but shrewdly capitalized intervention in a Southern racial conflict furnishes the excuse for a major effort by America's enemies to humiliate her in the eyes of "world opinion." The American Government fights back—which, some cynics may object, is pushing the fiction-writer's prerogative pretty far; but patience: the strategy it adopts is precisely the kind of abject crawl that verisimilitude demands. How it all comes out is Mr. Drury's secret, and I won't anticipate him here.

Viewed strictly as a novel, *A Shade of Difference* has both strengths and weaknesses. It is true that Drury achieves a slightly meretricious air of momentousness simply by telling a story that involves famous institutions and powerful men; but then, so did Shakespeare. More serious is the criticism that many of Drury's characters represent particular viewpoints almost as rigidly as the protagonists in *Pilgrim's Progress.* When Drury takes the time to develop a character to the fullest, the result is at least wholly believable; when he doesn't, the effect is sometimes dangerously banal.

But if we stop looking for another *Moby Dick,* or even another *Catcher in the Rye,* in Drury's novels, and accept them as the modern morality plays they are clearly intended to be, they promptly and richly reward our attention. This man is not afraid of tough problems, and in his new book he invites us to suppose that the UN, dominated by its hot-headed Afro-Asian bloc, has elected to consider censuring the United States for its discriminatory racial practices. (And by the way, don't think it couldn't happen.) Both nationally and internationally, he swiftly forces us to realize how much—in terms of human suffering, and pride, and bitterness, and heroism, and opportunism—turns upon that fatal "shade of difference" between the black man and the white. And he also compels us to see both



sides of the question: in his sensitive treatment of Seab Cooley's stubborn resistance to the winds of change, we hear some of the very few genuinely kind and understanding words that have been spoken, in these grating times, by a Northerner concerning the white South—to which all other Americans, black and white alike, are bound by the chains of an am-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bivalent love-hate that knows neither rest nor resolution.

But if *A Shade of Difference* is a morality play, what is its moral? Drury seems—I repeat, seems—sincerely obsessed with the supposed necessity for the UN to justify the hopes lodged in it by its more idealistic admirers. He even dedicates the novel "to the men and women of the Secretariat, and those delegations that genuinely work for peace in Turtle Bay"; and he puts in the mouth of the dying Senator Fry a kind of gagging, humanistic Sermon on the Mount well calculated to bring tears to the eyes of any Adlai Stevenson supporters who have read that far.

But let no prospective purchaser be deterred by these and other evidences of a mawkish and curiously discordant sentimentality toward the UN (which, as presently constituted and run, is doing deadly and increasing damage to the cause of freedom everywhere). Page after page of this lengthy novel unmistakably demonstrates that Allen Drury can tell a hawk from a handsaw. He knows the fundamentally evil nature of Communism, and the mortal peril it poses to all free men. He knows the folly—and worse—of neutralism in the face of that peril.

Better yet—and far rarer—he knows and is not afraid to say that America's numerous and powerful Liberals are the unwitting but indispensable allies of the Communists in the latter's unrelenting drive to weaken, and ultimately to conquer, the entire free world.

Indeed, it will be interesting to see just how the Stakhanovite Liberals who dominate the top book review media treat a novel that makes such slashing attacks upon their most cherished beliefs and institutions. At one point, for example, Drury pens a hilarious parody of a gushing *New Yorker* interview with the cynical M'Bulu; at another, he improvises a *New York Times* editorial brilliantly caricaturing that august journal's apparent inability to stand for anything but piecemeal surrender. These are telling blows, and I predict they will be returned with interest. The Liberals were caught napping by *Advise and Consent,* but surely they are laying for the sequel.

On the other hand, Mr. Drury, with a best-seller and a Pulitzer Prize behind him, has considerable momentum now; and while *A Shade of Difference* can be knocked, it can scarcely be ignored. It will, in any case, be widely read, and that is all to the good; for Drury, at bottom, believes and is boldly proclaiming that there are such things as Good and Evil in this world, and that they are contending in our day before our very eyes. If fifty years of ethical relativism haven't scrubbed that hoary idea out of men's minds, what of enduring significance can our modern masters be said to have accomplished? Not much; nor will they, so long as there are novelists—and ordinary citizens—like Allen Drury. God bless him, he cares.


## Fall Book Number

The November 20 issue of *National Review* will be a special book number, including reviews and discussion by:

Eugene Lyons on J. Edgar Hoover's *A Study of Communism*
Joan Didion on the cult of *Catch 22*
Edward C. Banfield on Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom*
Hugh Kenner on the Twenties
Gordon Tullock on Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*
Theodore Sturgeon on science fiction


# Violin, Meerschaum and Bradshaw

GUY DAVENPORT

The thoroughness with which John Hamish Watson, Vincent Starrett, H. W. Bell and John Dickson Carr have elucidated the career of William Sherlock Scott Holmes has coerced the fourth biographer of the great ratiocinator into extensive research. Given the hard rind of Holmes' shy and necessary exclusiveness of person, that research has turned up a fine catch of discoveries. William S. Baring-Gould has collated and arranged in tidy order all the facts relative to the first consulting detective, averaging a secretion of ten footnotes the chapter. There are sixteen pages of bibliography. This is a scholar's biography, by no means displacing Watson's propaedeutic eminence. Watson wrote in the heat of things, as a witness, and had in command a less decumbent prose than Mr. Baring-Gould, much of whose style is a victim to contemporary displacements within the art of biography.

*Sherlock Holmes of Baker Street, A Life of the World's First Consulting Detective,* by William S. Baring-Gould. Potter, $5.00

Consider. Two vigorous, dominant and corollary arts flourish in our time: acting and counterfeiting. Stage, vacuum tube, and nitrate of silver account for only a portion of the ability of mythological characters to move among us. Who is more fictional than Greta Garbo?

The author of *The Treasure of Sierra Madre* has never been seen, nor can anyone say who B. Traven is. De Chirico has counterfeited his own paintings, to oblige collectors of his early period, and real counterfeiters have unwittingly assisted him. A Bronze Age Etruscan "Warrior" in the Metropolitan and the Piltdown skull are both examples of modern sculpture. Half of Van Gogh's paintings are thought to be counterfeit, though which is which is unknown. As there are no photographs of Van Gogh and as Toulouse-Lautrec discovered him, promptly packed him off to Arles, and saw to it that he died within his lifetime, evidence points to Van Gogh's



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being a mythological character whose paintings were forged by Toulouse-Lautrec. The Letters would have been the work of Theo Van Gogh, who was real and as a dealer in paintings had everything to gain by the invention of a wild, improbable painter who would be certain to catch the public's melodramatic fancy.

If Van Gogh, obsessed by his own face, could be sneaked by his creators, one of whom was a pioneer photographer, through the golden age of photography, Holmes, who had every reason never to be photographed, succumbed to the camera. The one photograph which Holmes allowed is now reproduced for the first time by Mr. Baring-Gould, a fine example of dry plate portraiture. It is a pity that the set of studies which Charles Dodgson took of Holmes in 1872 has never turned up, though Ruskin is known to have shown prints of them to Sir Edward Burne-Jones, and they may have been among the treasures which perished when Rossetti's house was demolished in the Blitz.

Mr. Baring-Gould's life is superior in detail and research to that of Vincent Starrett's *Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (1933, second edition 1960), if inferior in tone and skill to the individual case histories of John Watson. Among the important new information we find Holmes' encounter with Jack the Ripper whose identity is only now revealed, Holmes' affair with "Irene Adler" (Clara Stephens), his brief career as an actor in America, and the discovery of the manuscript of *The Whole Art of Detection,* to be published soon in four volumes by Clarkson N. Potter.

The subject, one of the most difficult for the biographer, would seem to invite more curiosity than it has been given by Mr. Baring-Gould, whose strength lies in chronology and minutiae. Prof. Stanley Edgar Hyman has recently pointed out that Freud has a debt to Holmes in techniques of interpretation; indeed, if it had been shown that the reading of clues was the very style of Holmes' century, much of the detective's work would adjust to the perspective in which we ought to appreciate him. Darwin was but a Holmes with a universe of clues, and much of nineteenth-century science seems a Holmesian reduction of a baffling case to a neat set of deciphered clues contemptuously placed before a gasping Watson.

The figure who moves about in Baring-Gould's biography is something of a phantom, his vivid presence dimmed by the web of fact. Watson was working with a real man whose eye for detail was a constant amazement and whose vigor of analysis was an exercise to admire and envy. Watson was not trying to maintain Holmes' reputation or to manufacture a public image of it. Baring-Gould, in a sense, is working with a counterfeit. In spite of his access to documents which Watson could not have seen, he is essentially helpless to see afresh the man Watson, Lestrade and Gladstone knew, a man whose private life was as eventless and cozy as that of J. Edgar Hoover or Gertrude Stein. The Victorian coziness of coal fire and gaslight, reported in the warmth of friendship, vanishes before the modern biographer.

Arranged chronologically and cross-indexed, the cases become episodic and commonplace. Holmes was undeniably one of the most interesting Englishmen of his time, but his time had necessarily to be ignorant of his movements except for what the newspapers and Watson could tell. Holmes favored the telegram over the letter; even the letters, where they survive, are too terse to make good reading, and most of Holmes' writing is too technical to be read with pleasure by any but researchers.

Yet we welcome the biography, faults and all. There is even a pawky exultation in knowing that Holmes' guarded privacy is as invulnerable to biographic scutiny as that of his friend Wilkie Collins, that other master of disguise. Meanwhile we must honestly say that the definitive biography of Holmes is yet to be written and warn all parents to keep Baring-Gould hidden from children, for it won't do to have them learn the great cases from any source other than Watson's classic reports.

# Latin America: Fact and Theory

TIRESIAS

PROUST's aphorism, "The facts of life do not penetrate to the sphere in which our beliefs are cherished," applies with particular aptness to much of the intellectual career of Adolf Augustus Berle Jr. At 67, Berle seems to have abandoned a substantial portion of New Deal-Liberal dogma and made a brave attempt to separate fact from credo in his new short book, *Latin America: Diplomacy and Reality.* Berle has had ample experience of Latin America: as delegate to numerous Pan American conferences, Ambassador to Brazil, chairman of the Kennedy task force on Latin America and—following the Cuban debacle—occasional consultant to Secretary Rusk. Berle was an advocate of the hard line on Castro. Though his book tactfully omits discussion of the Administration decision-making process that led to U.S. defeat at the Bay of Pigs, the text in general reflects a mature disillusionment with the standard Liberal theory of "belly Communism" and spells out the Communist subversive threat to the Americas in a refreshingly forthright manner. Even so, he is spiritually unable to reject the Establishment canon that the Cuban revolution was "betrayed" by Castro, despite ample contrary evi-

*Latin America: Diplomacy and Reality*, by Adolf A. Berle Jr. Harper, $2.95; paper $1.25



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dence that what evolved was simply a following-through, a consummation, of goals stated and implied.

This book cannot give much cheer to the Administration even though its chronological cut-off is January 31, 1962, the close of the Punta del Este conference. If Berle were to update the book to include current Administration posture toward Castro's "defensive" arming, one wonders to what degree Berle would harden some of his conclusions. Given the limitations of length, however, it makes a primer for the novice to what has been inelegantly called the "Vaseline Circuit."

Although Berle's foreword threatens to describe Latin American relations with frank realism, there is little in the book to ruffle the feathers of most Latin Americans. However, a service is performed when he accurately attributes the ferment of early Latin American anti-colonial revolt to the example of the French Revolution, rather than to the American Revolution (the "American Revolution" thesis is laboriously and unrewardingly cultivated by USIA offices in Latin America). In doing so, he establishes the class character of the struggles that have kept the Southern Hemisphere in turmoil for the last century-and-a-half.

In doctrinaire fashion he details the economic misery of the Amerindian masses and holds up "agrarian reform" as a modern Philosophers' Stone, without troubling to specify the need for basic education that an illiterate must have if he is to work profitably his piece of land, however acquired. Even rudimentary education takes time, and the Liberals require instant progress everywhere; so Berle's prescription is the agricultural collective.

Yet, he vigorously defines the threat to the Americas arising from Communism's Latin American "front," and remarks that American public opinion has not appreciated its seriousness. But he fails to indicate that the fault may lie with the Administration's elite, whose Alliance for Progress presumes to tackle problems of political subversion by dangling aid handouts in return for specified economic and social "reforms" in recipient countries. Too, Berle characterizes the Punta del Este meetings as net gains for the United States, whereas what those wordy conferences starkly revealed was the cowardice and intellectual dishonesty of the delegates from Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia and Haiti. Nevertheless, despite his commitment to the "Inter-American system" as a framework for hemispheric relations, he states the paramount case for American self-interest and cites the Bogotá, Chapultepec, Buenos Aires and Rio pacts as permissive authorization for independent action.

In justifying his proposal to organize a U.S.-controlled bureau for direct political propaganda, Berle takes a long step beyond the confines of Establishment policy. Latin Americans expect it, he says, and adds wryly: "It has been assumed in some quarters that direct American ownership of anything automatically exposes it to attack. That is true, but not important: everything American is, or will shortly be, under attack by the propaganda systems of the overseas

## Random Notes

● MARQUEES: *My Fair Lady,* at the Drury Lane in London and in its fifth year, carries in its ads the warning that it is in the LAST TWO YEARS of its run. . . . After having overheard a Hollywood executive refer to a movie named "Longest Day's Journey Into Night," *Variety* gives in to temptation and indulges itself with "The Guns of Navarone Sunday." . . . Universal Pictures is tentatively calling John Huston's movie about The Master, *Freud,* though if all doesn't go well at the box office it will become *Freud—The Dark Passion.* . . . And a movie originally issued as *Bayou* is now showing as *Poor White Trash.*

● INCIDENTAL: The Armory Show of 1913 at which the United States joined the twentieth century with a jolt is being rounded up and will be mounted next year, on its fiftieth anniversary, as nearly like it was as can be remembered, and in the same place. . . . *The Scottish National Dictionary,* begun in 1929, has run out of funds at the letter M, and sends out a universal plea for contributions.

● IN THE MAKING: *The Mouse that Roared* is going to have a sequel, *Mouse on the Moon.* . . . George St. George and Rudolph Mate are filming yet another adaptation of Aristophanes' pacifist play *Lysistrata* which the French are so fond of putting into modern dress for the movies. This version, however, is said to be close to the original and will be set in its own time. . . . Ron Gorton Productions has thought up another epic, starring everybody, and, for the nonce, entitled *The Devil.* It is no less than the history of sin from the beginning of things to the present. The clergy has been called in for a kick-off conference.

● BOOKS: Russell Kirk in his role as thriller and spook writer will bring out *Surly Sullen Bell* in November (Fleet, $4.50). . . . Dolphin has brought out as a paperback Lillian Ross' *New Yorker* piece of some years back in which she describes in great detail and with an outsider's amusement the filming of *The Red Badge of Courage.* One of the best books ever written about movies and one that shows how movies are coerced into mediocrity and how this one, a masterpiece, was saved for excellence and lost to the bank account. . . . Just before her death Grandma Moses completed her illustrations to Clement C. Moore's *Night Before Christmas,* now published by Random House, and for only $1.95. . . . Conrad Aiken's autobiography *Ushant,* a difficult and strange book that has had a select popularity, is in a Meridian paperback for $1.75. . . . One of the events of the season will be Simon and Schuster's re-issue of Charles Addams' first book of cartoons, *Drawn and Quartered,* now twenty years out of print. The collection reaches back to 1935, when Mr. Addams was just beginning to invent his ghouls and vampires. Price: $3.95.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The World Under God's Law

The Ten Commandments and Today's Society

by T. Robert Ingram

$3.50

"...The World Under God's Law is dynamite."
Christian Economics

Here the origin of the laws of the United States is traced back to the Ten Commandments. Mr. Ingram shows how each Commandment is under direct attack by those who would make everything subject to arbitrary human control.

*"Here is logic—but no acrimony."*
*The Houston Chronicle*

**St. Thomas Press**
P.O. Box 35096, Houston 35, Texas

"One of the most effective defenders of capitalism in America"
—Henry Hazlitt, Economic columnist, Newsweek*

Milton Friedman

# CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM

A leading economist expounds his view of the role of competitive capitalism; a necessary condition for the achievement of both economic and political freedom. "He is unfailingly enlightening, independent, courageous, penetrating, and above all stimulating . . . and will cause the thoughtful reader to re-examine his own position on a score of issues."* $3.95

through your bookseller, or

University of Chicago Press
Chicago 37, Illinois


Communist empires." Berle believes that what happens to Cuba is less important than what happens in the Hemisphere as a whole, thereby making an implied case for the Alliance for Progress thesis. But here his logic is of a reverse kind, as impractical as that of a physician who prescribes a nourishing diet for a cancer patient in place of surgical extirpation.

In ignoring the "defensive" challenge of Soviet arms only ninety miles from our coast, in leashing anti-Castro exiles and failing to ready an armed invasion, the Administration displayed for many months the same wishful thinking that paralyzed Europe when JFK was making notes on the Cliveden Set for his Harvard thesis.

As one of the Administration's unacknowledged negotiators with the pre-invasion Cuban exile movement, Mr. Berle knows full well what was and remains at stake in the Western Hemisphere.

"Either the United States intends to defend the hemispheric system or she does not," Mr. Berle writes, without suggesting what the final choice will be. He prefers anticipating issues rather than awaiting their development, and in that sense challenges the "know-nothing" policy of the Establishment. Philosophically, Adolf Berle Jr. has come a long way in thirty years. If the rate of redemption continues, another ten will find him solidly in the seats of grace.

## *Theater*

# Snow Job

JOHN GREGORY DUNNE

THERE IS, it appears, no business like Snow business: specifically, C. P. Snow and the discovery by theater nobs on both sides of the Atlantic that his panoramic cycle of novels on twentieth-century Britain might fit nicely between the proscenium arches. So far this season, London has enthusiastically greeted *The New Men* (about scientists and the bomb), while New York has more tepidly received *The Affair* (academic scandal in a Cambridge college); in the works for next season is a dramatization of *The Masters* (that same Cambridge college again, this time involved in an election of a new master). All three books have been adapted by veteran British playwright Ronald Millar ("veteran" is one of those delightfully pejorative theatrical adjectives used to describe a personage with a long list of credits and a short supply of talent) and it looks as if he'll never run out of material. Snow has already completed eight novels in the series, and more are on the way. So—as Wollcott Gibbs once said about another matter—where it will all end knows God.

But on the face of it, putting Snow on stage is not a bad idea. Edmund Wilson recently said that his only objection to Snow's novels was that they were almost completely unreadable. To call Snow's prose pedestrian is high praise indeed. His books are humorless and plodding, lacking in both imagination and emotional involvement. Exasperating as his style is, however, his books do generate a certain amount of fascination. At a time when the novel is obsessively concerned with little people and small problems, Snow is trying to weave a tapestry of twentieth-century British society, using as fabric his first-hand knowledge of government and the scientific and academic communities. This takes a large amount of *chutzpah*, but (at the risk of sounding defensive) who else is doing it? Admittedly Lewis Eliot, narrator of all the books in the cycle, is a bore, and his private life, which at times inundates us, is corrosively uninteresting.

Yet Snow has stalked what he calls "the corridors of power." As a scientist, a Cambridge don, and a civil servant for whose offices to the Crown he was knighted by the Queen, he has had access to the upper levels of the Establishment. Within the framework of Britain's Welfare State,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he has a keen eye for the subtleties of power. Dull, Snow's bureaucrats, organization men and academicians may be, but they are (to quote one British critic) as representative of their age as "tyrants were of Renaissance Italy and enlightened despots of the eighteenth century."

ON STAGE, the intelligence and awareness that are present in most of Snow's books can be distilled from the surrounding morass and presented in their most refined state. If there is more light than heat, it is small penalty to pay for not having to read the books. And so, to *The Affair*.

The setting is a Cambridge college inhabited, says one aging don, not so much by distinguished men as by men who confer distinction on one another. As the curtain rises, the college's board of seniors is depriving a junior colleague of his fellowship for allegedly faking a scientific photograph on his thesis. Since Donald Howard (Keith Baxter) is a boorish fellow traveler as well as a second-rate scientist, his departure is viewed as no great loss. But Howard's Redlining wife (Brenda Vaccaro), convinced that he was sacked only because of his political beliefs, appeals to Lewis Eliot (well played by Brewster Mason), a former fellow now a Whitehall lawyer, to fight for her husband's reinstatement, not so much to redeem his reputation as to rub the Establishment's nose into the dirt.

Eliot at first refuses, as there is no proof that the court erred. But when evidence is uncovered that suggests Howard's probable innocence, Eliot takes the case. Ironically, the discovery is made by a reactionary Catholic don who abhors Howard both personally and politically, but who is determined to see that justice is done to his enemy. Justice, however, runs afoul of a conflict of motives. One don is reluctant to see the affair reopened because it would jeopardize his career, another because it might mean tarnishing the reputation of a dead man, a third because it would endanger a large and badly needed bequest to the college. When enough votes are finally garnered to reconvene the court, Howard is exonerated. The verdict is a masterpiece of compromise, which acknowledges both Howard's innocence of fraud and his limited talents as a scientist.

*The Affair* is a better play than novel if only because it is eight hours shorter. Unfortunately, however, the Broadway production is far inferior to the one I saw last season in London. The direction is flaccid, the sets abominable, and the American actors are under the impression that by talking through their noses they can fake British accents. Instead they all sound as if they could use a menthol inhalator. Yet *The Affair* does evoke the milieu of high table with its port and cigars and donnish patter, sprinkled with Latin witticism and obscure references to the Icelandic sagas. And more importantly, it does investigate the nature of justice and the influences that blemish the ideal. If it is not exciting theater, it is at least interesting theater.

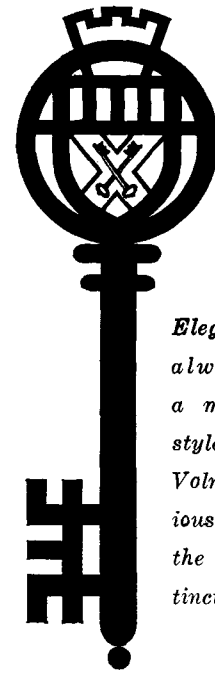
## BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE WOUND IN THE HEART, by Allen Guttmann (Free Press, $5.95). Allen Guttmann is "not old enough to remember" the Spanish Civil War—nor well-informed enough to write about its impact on the American scene. His account, therefore, is based strictly on one of those doctoral-thesis investigations which consist of reading many books and newspapers but never quite understanding them. It is significant that in his peripheral account of events in Spain, he at no time quotes from Salvador de Madariaga's scholarly work on that sanguinary conflict. Thrown in helter-skelter among the names of Liberals are those of Communists, who are seldom identified—yet he brushes aside as "far Left" the views of Oswal Garrison Villard. And when he gets involved in the complexities of the American Left and its sectarian squabbles, he is hopelessly lost. More's the pity. For the Spanish war *was* a wound in the heart of many Americans—a wound which deserves a defter probe. For many, moreover, it was a double wound—inflicting first the pain of the Franco uprising and, far more bitter, the anguish of discovering that the outpouring of faith had been betrayed by the NKVD. The author, in effect, has taken a good title and a major subject, only to play quotations with them. He has done a further disservice by his

*The best hidden persuader we know is a Tiffany diamond solitaire*

TIFFANY & CO.
NEW YORK

★ ★



*Elegance has always been a matter of style. At The Volney, luxurious service is the key to distinction.*

THE VOLNEY
23 EAST 74th STREET, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
*Vice President, Executive Director,* FRANK C. BROMBER
BUTTERFIELD 8-7500
THE HOTEL OF ELEGANCE AND DISTINCTION

★ ★




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**Don't miss your boat!**

. . . or your plane. Don't arrive to find your favorite hotel full. Travel the easy, *modern* way—have everything waiting for you—let Margaret Cone make all your reservations now. Whether you are on business or vacation, you should enjoy yourself. And you *will* if you contact

**MARGARET CONE TRAVEL SERVICE**
*Dept. R-1, 520 Fifth Ave.*
New York 36, N.Y.
Tel. OXford 7-0796

**Pension Trust and Profit Sharing Plan**
**Actuarial and Consulting Services**
- DESIGNING
- INSTALLING
- ADMINISTRATION

MASON KLINCK
*400 Park Avenue, New York City*
*PLaza 1-4200*

**McGUFFEY'S READERS**

After a long and costly search, reprints of the original 1879 revised editions of the famous McGuffey's Readers have been completed and you can now purchase exact copies at the following low prices POSTPAID:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Reader | $2.50 | 4th Reader | $3.50 |
| 2nd Reader | $2.75 | 5th Reader | $3.75 |
| 3rd Reader | $3.25 | 6th Reader | $4.25 |

**OLD AUTHOR, Dept. NA-11, Rowan, Iowa**

**ANY BOOK**

No matter how old or how long out-of-print located by expert staff. "Name the book—we'll find it." Fiction or non-fiction. All authors, subjects. Free search—courteous service—no obligation.

**BOOKS-ON-FILE, Dept. NAT**
**Union City, New Jersey**

**Free to WRITERS**
**seeking a book publisher**

**Two illustrated brochures reveal how we can publish, promote and sell your book; tips to writers; facts and figures on how we published over 3000 authors. All types of books wanted. Write Dept.** NXR11
**Exposition Press, 386 Park Ave. S., N.Y. 16**

ANY BOOK reviewed in this Book Section—or any other current book—is yours for no more than the bookstore price. We pay all postage and *handling charges. Worldwide* service, catalogue on request.

THE BOOKMAILER, INC.
Box 101—Murray Hill Station
New York 16, New York

The Complete Bookstore-by-Mail representing all U.S. publishers

inability to distinguish among extreme Rightists, conservatives, Liberals, socialists, and Communists. In short, this is a superficial, muddled, unfeeling book which deserves to be consigned not to the flames, but to the dusty scrutiny of Ph. D.'s seeking a footnote.

R. DE TOLEDANO

LETTERS FROM A TRAVELLER, by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (Harper, $4.00). The Jesuit scientist and seer urges us forward to Omega, but takes us back to Eleusis, where the Mass must fade, again, into primitive earth-worship: on an expedition, without his priestly materials, he writes, "Since once more, my Lord, I have neither bread, nor wine, nor altar, I shall rise *beyond symbols to the pure majesty of the real,* and I shall offer you, I your priest, on the altar of the whole earth, the toil and sorrow of the world" (emphasis added). Since the Elect, in de Chardin's coldly intellectual world, are the Evolved, he must dismiss biologically "inferior men" as irrelevances: looking at some muscular Ethiopians, he writes, "It's a survival of a splendid human type —but how ill-fitted, it would seem, to follow our forward march. They will merge or disappear—like the zebras and elephants . . . progress itself implies an unquenchable force that insists on the destruction of everything which has outlived its time." Some are entering the "Noosphere" (Teilhard, he makes it repeatedly clear, at the head of the procession); others belong with the zebras. A terrifying book.

G. WILLS

ELEMENTS OF LIBERTARIAN LEADERSHIP, by Leonard E. Read (Foundation for Economic Education, $2 paper, $3 cloth). My friend and neighbor, Leonard Read, the president of the Foundation for Economic Education, has concerned himself for many years with what I might call the intuitive or introspective examination of the concept of liberty. This book, a major reworking of some of his essays and speeches, sets forth some successful conclusions and also illustrates some of the dangers of the intuitive technique. That liberty comes from God needs to be said, and often; that the mass-man is morally enslaved is true; that political liberty rests on individual self-discipline, we agree. Such assertions are part of the whole statement of freedom. But I fail, perhaps from my ignorance, to understand how a free-market advocate can argue (p. 103) against producing to meet market demand. And if Mr. Read inveighs against political activism while the masses are uninstructed (pp. 16, 48), why does he urge (p. 106) the candidacies of high-minded men, regardless of the outcome? If he defines liberty categorically (p. 11), why does he deny (p. 117) that liberty can be defined, or that it has ever been defined? If he plans to discuss methodology as his chief topic (p. 10), why does he wait until the last quarter of the book (p. 131) to come to grips with it? If he finds fault with all other groups of libertarians (pp. 16, 17) why does he claim the cause is general ignorance (p. 137), while urging that the rest of us be humble? These are, however, only minor difficulties, which need not stand in the way of the interested reader. The book serves well as a full statement of Mr. Read's methods, which are unique. I have nothing but admiration for the advocates of self-perfection. It is a good thing, "society-wise," as Mr. Read so clearly tells us.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

THE RED CARPET, by Ezra Taft Benson (Bookcraft, $3.50). Ideologues abound in the Kennedy Administration. Among these sophisticates the theory is that the Soviets are moving toward a position, involving a rightist willy-nilly wobble, which is the same position which we are approaching as a result of a slow leftist creep. Ezra Taft Benson holds that this is not the case. The meeting at a far meridian which he hopes for is not one in which our ideals are compromised into a sort of gentle collectivism. He urges, rather, a rededication to Americanism and Christianity. This rededication could well be based on those solemn, unbowdlerized words of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"—"As He died to make men holy, let us die to make them free."

W. D. JACOBS



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# To the Editor

***The Mess***

Occasionally conservatives, and in particular NATIONAL REVIEW, have stressed the point that when a publication is consistently sponsoring Communist plans and programs, said publication, good intentions notwithstanding, cannot indefinitely expect to escape the "pink" label. Applying the same principle to NATIONAL REVIEW, one finds himself at a loss to see how you can expect to escape the "racist" label any more than the *Nation* can escape the "pink" label.

Your editorial writer [Oct. 9] claims that "Governor Barnett understands himself to be defending a principle, and a very honorable principle, the principle of home rule." The principle which Barnett is actually defending, of course, is a little less honorable in that it excludes from a fair representation in that state's affairs some 43% of the population. The principle Barnett is defending is *white* home rule, and the distinction is crucial in that it renders a good principle bad. Perhaps Mr. Barnett, like Mr. Khrushchev, would win a fair election, but we don't know, because neither has ever run in one. Both men derive their just powers from a consent of *some* of the governed. What's more, the incredibly savage reaction of the mob to the entrance of a duly qualified citizen to a *university* in that state gives the impression that many white Mississippians do not compare favorably with our "cannibal sisters" in Africa.

Your unbelievable blindness to what Meredith is trying to achieve is reflected clearly in your editorial statement asking, "Is he really going to be happier, or better off, at the University of Mississippi, where he is not wanted, than he would be at a Negro college?" James Meredith has, by choice and at the risk of his very life, raised himself to the level of a symbol by standing up for a principle which in our society infinitely excels in importance the principle of "states' rights", "home rule" or whatever you want to call it, and that is equality of opportunity for every individual in our nation to prove his worth.

*Corona, N.Y.* EDWARD A. FRITZ

I have read with disgust and anger your article titled "The Mess in Mississippi—An Afterword" [*NR*, Oct. 23]. Stop my subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW. I want nothing more to do with this outfit.

*Greenville, S.C.* WM. LOWNDES

To hell with you, Buckley.

*Brookhaven, Miss.* TULLY BRADY

All NATIONAL REVIEW's pompous handwringing over the Oxford invasion did not obscure your willingness, nay, inability to face up to a crucial question. Which side of the fight down here should conservatives have been on? By denigrating Gov. Barnett you have tried to avoid the problem of dealing with the honorable people who didn't try to throw Negroes out of Connecticut restaurants, but still were ready to fight to prevent putting a Negro into Ole Miss. When the Supreme Court tore up the Constitution, all America suffered. We are fighting to preserve the Constitution, so you unctuous Northerners share in the fruits of our fight. The question is not whether Negroes should be equal to whites. The Negroes will settle that question, one way or the other, by their performance. The question is whether we ought to scrap the Constitution to pacify a few northern theorists who live in all-white neighborhoods, and a fanatical pressure group with long Communist associations. Why must you make the Southern problem the one occasion in which you allow yourselves to accept everything the *New York Times* tells you?

*Montgomery, Ala.* GEORGE S. ARTHURS

*For seven years* NATIONAL REVIEW *has fought for states' rights, continuing to disapprove,* inter alia, *of Brown* vs. *Board of Education, which we pronounced in 1954 as "bad law and bad sociology." One of the difficulties sympathetic Northerners have in communicating with* some *Southerners, is the resistance of a few of them to reasoned discussion which allows for the making of significant distinctions:* e.g., *the distinction between the behavior of Barnett and the cause he fought for. In 1957 a similar distinction was relevant, between the cause of federalism and the behavior of Orval Faubus. Any coincidence between* NATIONAL REVIEW*'s position on the Mississippi affair and that of the* New York Times *is, to use an expression still tolerated by the Supreme Court, the difference between black and white.* —ED.

***The Facts About Guinea***

In your August 28th issue you published information from an anonymous Portuguese correspondent that was wholly inaccurate in several respects:

1) Guinea has an army of 3,500, not 16,000; its few tanks (not 50) would be useless in the swampy jungles of the north and its artillery (not 200) couldn't even hit the Portuguese jets.

2) There are no Cape Verde exiles undergoing military training here. As for those who might be in Senegal, they would have as much chance of mounting a successful amphibious operation on the islands as Prince Rainier has of taking over France.

3) Any Russian or Czech officers still training Guineans would be junior technical personnel with no command or even advisory functions.

4) Whatever his military capacity, Sékou Touré is far too busy disentangling himself from the Soviets and building bridges to the West to undertake a risky military adventure in Portuguese Guinea.

5) Nkrumah, whose main concern these days is to avoid assassination, couldn't care less about Portuguese Guinea.

The fact is that Soviet imperialism is doing very poorly in Africa and disenchantment with Communist ideology and tactics is now widespread among the neutralists. But this extremely hopeful development is seldom reported. Our press seems obsessed with defeatism—and defeatist policy—and NATIONAL REVIEW is no exception.

*Conakry, Guinea* WILLIAM ATWOOD
American Ambassador

***Curtis Right?***

Concerning Representative Curtis of Mo.: In Oct. 9 issue you call him "able" on page 252 and "fanatic" on page 255. Make up your mind on the gentleman, please.

*Washington, D.C.* RICHARD PETERSON

*Able.* —ED.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *classified advertisements*

### LITERARY

JUST FOR KICKS—A Controversial Image-Breaker. In poetry and rhyme. Price $1.00. Bryn Mawr Publishers, Box 307, Bryn Mawr, Pa., or your bookstore.

THE FRENCH BOOKSHOP, 556 Madison Avenue, New York's French bookshop, where French books are sold exclusively. Mail order catalogue 70¢. Box 199, NR.

WILL PAY $70 for Bound Volume No. 1 of National Review in good condition. Box 96, National Review.

JFK COLORING BOOK as featured in Time magazine. Hard-hitting satire on the New Frontier. Terrific gifts! Send $1.90 ea. or two for $3.75. Costin Specialties, 1737 N. Meridian, Indianapolis, Indiana.

### REAL ESTATE

TWO HUNDRED FEET OCEAN FRONTAGE AT MANALAPAN, FLORIDA. Zoned residential. Near country club. Equal frontage on inland waterway. Ideal for country house. Priced at $80,000 for quick sale to offset market losses. Write N. Weyl, Box 172, NR.

OYSTER BAY, LONG ISLAND. Gracious home, 26 rooms, all new heating, copper pipes, private beach, 4 car garage, cottages, beach house, tennis court, formal gardens, trees 400 years old. Asking only $175,000. Box 18, NR.

### JOBS AND JOB HUNTERS

SECRETARY WANTED: Knowledgeable, Conservative, and Anti-Communist. Shorthand and Typing necessary. Familiar with organizational public relations, and working with volunteer workers. Please send written resume to Citizens Anti-Communist Committee, Box 1780, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

LIFE INSURANCE CAREER? Guaranteed starting salary — commissions — bonuses. Management future. For appointment call (Nassau County, N.Y.) OVerbrook 1-4700.

CONSERVATIVE JOURNALIST, 33, seeks job in New York City. Particularly interested in Cold War. Magazine, newspaper experience. Write Box 150, NR for further information.

TELEVISION Bench repairman, experienced, callbacks at minimum. Willing to work hard and get repairs out. Will not tolerate liberal atmosphere. Write Box 200, NR.

ARTIST WANTED. Versatile art sudio needs apprentice or beginner to do paste-ups and mechanicals. Should be able to handle line spots, cartoons and have a flair for layouts. This is an opportunity for a quick alert young person to learn the art business. Write Box 78, National Review.

### TRAVEL

VACATION HOME EXCHANGE BUREAU—will arrange between Respectable Reliable People—Box 2794, Dallas, Texas.

FREIGHTER TRAVEL. Ford's Freighter Travel Guide book gives complete information on hundreds of lower cost trips you can take on passenger carrying freighters from U.S. and Canadian seaports to all parts of the world. New 20th edition shows where they go, how long they take, what they cost, gives addresses of Steamship Lines, everything needed for planning vacation travel. 112 pages fully illustrated, price $2.50 postpaid. (no C.O.Ds). Ford's Freighter Travel Guidebook, Dept. 19 2031 Glendon Avenue, Los Angeles 25, California.

### INVESTMENTS

DO YOU INVEST? For prompt, courteous service and convenient midtown stock brokerage facilities, phone Leon Weil, Steiner Rouse & Company, MU 2-0300, Lexington and 41st St., New York City. Members New York Stock Exchange.

OUR INSURANCE AS GOOD AS ANYONE's — why not insure with friends? Yachts a specialty. R. K. Cooper Insurance, 911 N.E. 20th Ave., Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

### OLD RECORDS COLLECTOR

YOUNG RECORD BUFF, looking for old records dating around period 1912-1925, featuring old minstrel tunes. Write Box 10, NR.

### PERSONAL

SCRIPTS WANTED. Must represent the current upsurge in Conservative Thinking. National Review Box 69.

PROFESSIONAL GROUPS! The Third Order of St. Francis for Catholic professional people now forming in New York and Philadelphia areas. Objects—spiritual formation and intellectual apostolate. Write Box 142, NR.

YOUNG, GIRL, wishes to share apartment with family or same. Must be located in Manhattan area, convenient to transportation. Willing to share expenses. Write Box 207, NR.

EPISCOPAL CLERGYMAN would enjoy hearing from vestry seeking highly qualified and broadly conservative rector. Box 195, NR.

COFAM has changed its address to Box 615, New York 5, N.Y.

### YACHTS

U.S. FINN monotype. One man Olympic boat. Wood. Faire-marine. Experts only. $750. Box 300, National Review.

### ANIMALS

STUD CAT: Himalayan cat, pedigree, excellent ancestry, 1 year old, offers services to feline interested in having family. New York and Connecticut area. Fee. Write Box 174, NR.

### PORTRAITS

CARICATURES done from photographs by professional portrait artist. Water color, oil, black and white. Write for information: Richard A. Reasoner, 2340 North 11th Street, Arlington, Va.

### MISCELLANEOUS

THE VOICE OF THE MOUNTAINS (10¢ a copy) OFFERS DISCERNING FOLK WHO LIKE GOOD NEW ENGLAND food, and useable housewares, a wide variety, in good taste, described in English shorn of embellishment, by Vrest Orton, proprietor of the famous Original Vermont Country Store, Route 100, Weston, Republic of Vermont.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog FREE. Research Association, Box 24-NL, Olympia, Washington.

NON-PARTISAN DISCUSSION GROUP, human relations, psychology, meets Thursdays, Manhattan. MO 2-8488.

RIFLES, SHOTGUNS, HANDGUNS. Buy direct. Write: Chapel Arms Supply, Box 51X, New Hope, Penna.

CREATIVE MINDS AVAILABLE. For art work, ad campaigns, direct mail, copy and production: Contact ULTRA ARTS, INC., 150 East 35th Street, New York 16, N.Y. (ORegon 9-7493).

I.Q. TESTS. Accurate, inexpensive. Home-administered, professionally interpreted. Research data needed. University Research and Testing Institute, Inc. R-21, Box 6744, Stanford, California.

***National Review Accepts . . .***

**classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds or subscriptions. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. National Review's Classified space is limited to one page. Since the page is filled, the Classified Department will in general assign priorities to advertisers in order of their acceptance, while at the same time striving to give our readers a reasonably balanced page of available products and services. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York 16, New York.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Speaking Up • • •

Russell Kirk, author of *The Conservative Mind*, of nine major works of political theory, of 17 critical introductions for scholarly reprints of the classics, and three romance and mystery novels, has also had over 400 short stories and essays published in the leading magazines of this country and Europe. Dr. Kirk is a professor of politics, editor of *The University Bookman*, and a lecturer. There's no doubt about it, he's versatile. He has spoken to clubs, and on nearly 150 American campuses.

Some of Dr. Kirk's lecture topics include *The Future of American Conservatism, The Crisis of American Protestantism, Reforming American Education, The Anatomy of Collectivism*, and *The Disintegrated Liberalism in Foreign Policy*.

If your university or club would like to hear Dr. Kirk, won't you write? He will be in the Boston area in November, and the Midwest in February.

You may also want to write for openings in the schedules of our other speakers: Wm. F. Buckley Jr., L. Brent Bozell, Willmoore Kendall, Frank Meyer, Thomas Molnar, William Rickenbacker, William A. Rusher, and Ernest van den Haag.

**CATHERINE BABCOCK, INC.**
**528 Southside Road**
**Virginia Beach, Virginia**

***Passed Imperfect***

I gave a cry of anguish when I saw the last sentence of the short review of Noel Busch's *Two Minutes to Noon* [*NR*, Oct. 23]. On my oath, the syntactical atrocity "as though . . . has brought" was not on the paper when it left my typing machine. Nor was the fine, lush adverb "lovingly." Indeed, what is here one long sentence was two medium-sized ones when we started out. It had to be, because "sympathy" and "understanding" are too close in meaning to inhabit the same sentence with any comfort to the reader's mind. The last sentence started with "And," a permissible usage, especially in so short a piece, where it's a matter of rhythm as much as anything. By the way, I am not sympathetic with those who hold that "and" is *always* the equivalent of a comma, Ernest Hemingway to the contrary notwithstanding. But as to the syntactical disaster, as dreadful in its way as Tokyo's, that befell this little piece of writing somewhere along the editorial line: let us see what Fowler says, on page 32 of *Modern English Usage*. Here it is: "*As if, as though*. These should invariably be followed by a past conditional, and not by the present form (*had gone*, not *has gone*)." "Had" is the way I wrote it, and "has" is the way it came out in the magazine.

Now, as to that adverb. I do not take myself seriously as a writer, but I take writing seriously. I have to, as it is the trade that stands between me and starvation. A few months ago, I decided to try to form a clear, clean style along the lines of that employed by Rueben Maury. To this end, I began to prune adverbs. There is somewhere a dormitory where worn-out words sleep away the days on Social Security. Three out of four of these useless words, I believe, are adverbs. Yes, I recall Keats' knight-at-arms, alone and palely loitering. But I am not trying to write about a Belle Dame Sans Merci. I am only trying to turn out journalism of a professional grade. Therefore, I am not grateful for the gift of "lovingly." As used, it seems redundant;—and if we argue that it has a meaning beyond "kind" and "courteous," we are still in trouble, for we excuse the redundancy by going wide of the mark. After all, I read the book. I wished to say that Noel Busch had written its close in a benevolent and well-intentioned manner, with court-


# Did you know

. . . . that **On the Right,** a weekly column by Wm. F. Buckley Jr., is appearing in important newspapers all across the country? It may be in your local paper. Look for it.

Among the papers which carry **On the Right** are:

Atlanta Journal
Boston Globe
Buffado Courier-Express
Charlotte Observer
Cincinnati Enquirer
Cleveland Plain Dealer
Erie News-Times
Honolulu Star-Bulletin
Indianapolis Star
Los Angeles Times
Miami Herald
Richmond News Leader
St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Seattle Times
Stamford Advocate

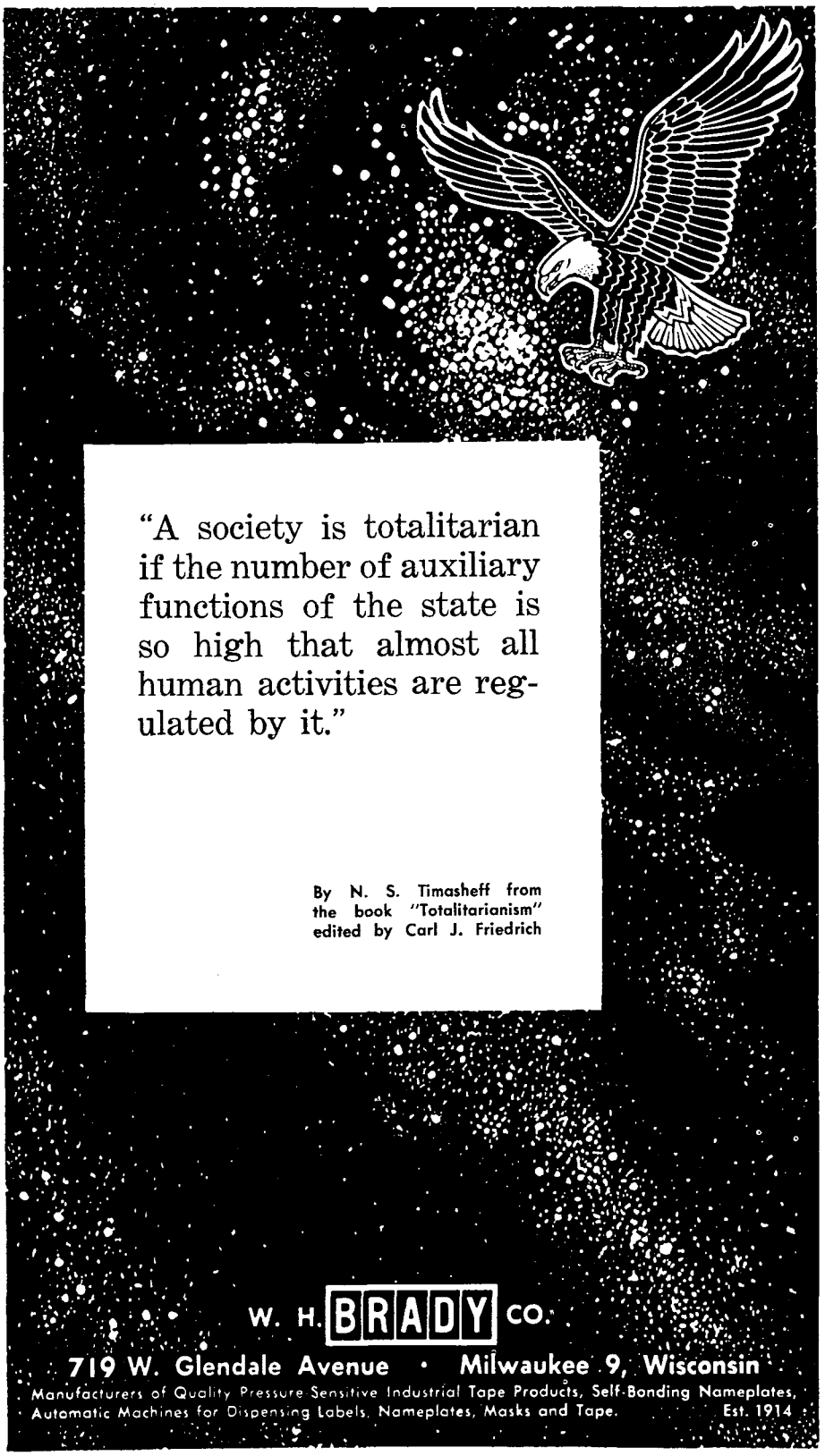
**College Editors: Wm. F. Buckley's column may be available for your college newspapers.**

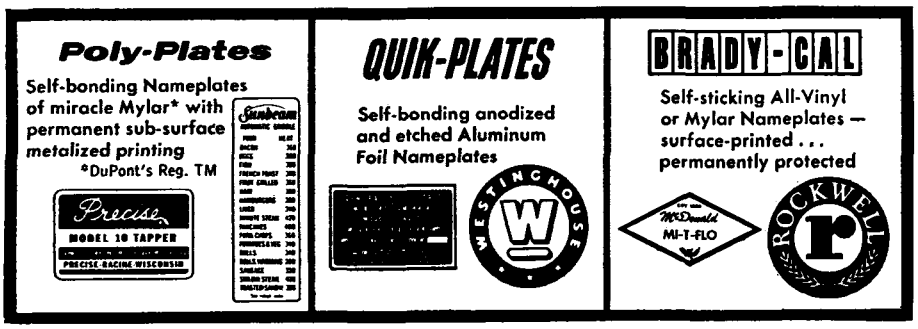
Write to:

Mr. H. E. Elmlark
George Matthew Adams Service
444 Madison Avenue
New York




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


"A society is totalitarian if the number of auxiliary functions of the state is so high that almost all human activities are regulated by it."
By N. S. Timasheff from the book "Totalitarianism" edited by Carl J. Friedrich
W. H. BRADY CO.
719 W. Glendale Avenue • Milwaukee 9, Wisconsin
Manufacturers of Quality Pressure Sensitive Industrial Tape Products, Self-Bonding Nameplates, Automatic Machines for Dispensing Labels, Nameplates, Masks and Tape. Est. 1914




ly politeness, as he did. But putting aside any question of precise meaning, I find in this word "lovingly" an especial clammy offensiveness. I believe it went out of usage some years ago, at the time the advertising slogan "Made with loving care" reached the saturation point. I have not seen it used since except to describe the way in which English dons handle their pipes and putters. Of course, it could have been worse—my benefactor might have dropped in the (to me) even more offensive "meticulously."

What makes this especially hard to bear is that every publisher in town will read it, and those among them who have education will file me away as a pretentious illiterate. For what is more ridiculous than a man who attempts a little passage of fine writing and fails to bring it off? Here I am setting myself up as a judge of literature, and starting out with a tribute to a book written by a man who is blessed with a clear, graceful style. Then I step on the editorial banana peel—and any reader will think, "This guy is plain ignorant—you'd suppose the editors would catch things like that." Alas, it was the editors who put it in.

This leads me to the conclusion that if any occasion ever comes up for me to make a further contribution to NATIONAL REVIEW, I shall have to ask for the protection of a pseudonym.

Wait until John Hersey and Teddy White see this. Teddy wouldn't know, but John will tell him.

*Ridgewood, N.J.* FINIS FARR

*Sorry! As ever——lovingly.* —ED.

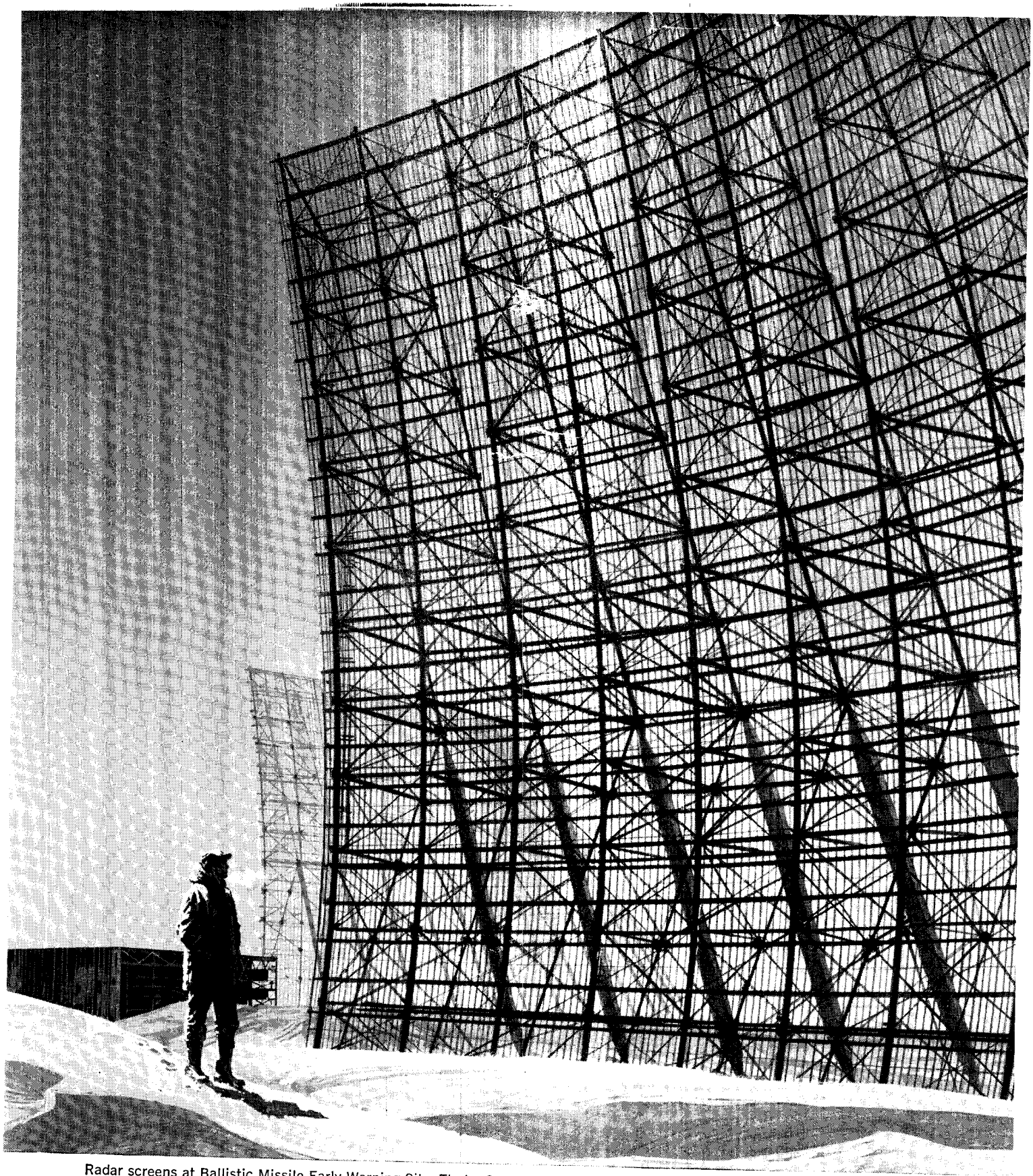
## WHY I'M RUNNING

(Continued from p. 355)

tial chances). Would a Governor Morgenthau, going nowhere and hobbled by a Republican Legislature mindful of why he was elected, be too high a price for New York's conservatives to pay for the recapture of their vanished influence in the New York GOP? Politics is a coldly practical game. To be sure, we conservatives, like all serious men, play it not for mere glory or for purposeless power, but for the sake of principle; but we must nevertheless play it realistically. Let us, then, recover our independence, and make our strength felt once more—and we may yet save our beloved and imperiled country.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Radar screens at Ballistic Missile Early Warning Site, Thule, Greenland, can spot the approach of missiles thousands of miles away.

## Here your tax dollars built a net to "catch" ballistic missiles on the fly, but...

in other places your tax money still goes to build needless things, like more federal-government-owned electric plants and lines. These are totally unnecessary because the investor-owned electric light and power companies can supply all the added electricity a growing America will need. Wouldn't it make sense for the federal government to stop such needless spending, and use your tax money only for essentials such as defense?

**Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies** ... *owned by 4,000,000 shareholders across the nation*

Sponsors' names on request through this magazine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Earl Blackwell gives a penthouse party

**and serves Vat 69, the light Scotch you'll recommend tomorrow.** This famed international host knows that Vat 69's lightness and Genuine Highland Character are right for modern tastes. The world's most discerning Scotch drinkers also know it. Have you tried it lately? You, too, will discover why **One Scotch Stands Out...Vat 69.**

BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND BY WM. SANDERSON & SON, LTD., IMPORTED BY NATIONAL DIST. PRODS. CO., N.Y. SOLE U. S. DISTRS. • BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY. 86.8 PROOF.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED